The
SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

VOLUME IV DECEMBER 1930 NUMBER 4

TOWARD WORLD-CONSCIOUSNESS[1]

A NEWCOMER to the United States, holder of a doctorate from the University of Prague, preparing articles on current American literature for readers at home, recently came to me for a number of interviews. Her critical findings were sound and balanced. The one that for lack of data I could not have made was that, compared with what she knew in Central Europe, life and letters in this country had broader horizons; people were less confined to the place and the moment. Jane Addams in *The Second Twenty Years at Hull-House* quotes by way of introduction a prophetic passage from AE:

> A planetary consciousness I surmise will grow up through centuries in this astonishing people, warring with its contrary idea which also has its own meaning and just basis. Our human faculties are burnished by their struggle with opposites in ourselves. And it is no less true of the ideas which become dominant in great civilizations. I imagine centuries in which in the higher minds in the States a noble sense of world duty, a world consciousness, will struggle with mass mentality and gradually pervade it.

What follows is a series of chapters on the world as seen from Hull-House, which with its neighborhood is a microcosm of the world. This sort of approach has often been used by the novelists as a literary device. Melville reduced the world to a battleship in

[1] Jane Addams, *The Second Twenty Years at Hull-House, September 1909 to September 1929, with a Record of a Growing World Consciousness.* New York: Macmillan Co., 1930. Pp. 413. $4.00.

White Jacket; Howells epitomized the United States by means of the staff and patrons of a summer hotel in *A Traveler from Altruria.* Miss Addams uses no device and goes as far afield as events may call her from the corner of Polk and Halsted streets; but she shows, without ever pressing the point, how the main problems of humankind converge on and radiate from this cosmopolitan neighborhood.

She deals with social service and the Progressive party, aspects of the woman's movement, efforts for peace during five years of war, post-war inhibitions, contrasts in a post-war generation, the decade of prohibition, immigrants under the post-war quota, and efforts to humanize justice. More specifically as from a social settlement she discusses the play instinct and the arts, and education by current events. And perhaps most impressively both for its art and its philosophy she writes on the great illusion of tragedy as exemplified in the episode of "The Devil Baby at Hull-House."

Unlike many of the pioneers in social service, and notably unlike the leading men (Canon Barnett, Robert Woods, Graham Taylor), Jane Addams seems not to have arrived at her philosophy of life by the route of theology. The unmistakable phrasing never crops up as it does inevitably from former students of "Divinity." The formalities of locution in Miss Addams' pages are rather those of the social technologist of the modern school. But back of these is a current of thinking that leads to no single apparent source. Life is a maelstrom of black waters, it is a coarse melodrama, it is a web, quoting Stevenson, with an "uncouth and outlandish strain." The maelstrom, the melodrama, the web, are other names for fate, which exerts itself through circumstances that in the lives of the helpless seem to be directed by an active devil still walking up and down the earth seeking whom he may devour. Fate in this concept is not personality but event. But diabolism does not have free sway, because "ancient kindliness . . . . sat beside the cradle of the race"; and this bequeathed to man a power that can be evoked not only to compensate for the strokes of fate but to forestall and frustrate them.

Our hope of achievement apparently lies in a complete mobilization of the human spirit, using all our unrealized and unevoked capacity. The situation requires limitless patience and comprehension.

It lies with us who are here now to make this [world] consciousness—as yet so fleeting and uncertain—the unique contribution of our time to that small handful of incentives which really motivate human conduct.

[The deeper philanthropy] is ready to give up the short modern rôle of being good to people and to go back to the long historic rôle of ministration to basic human needs.

It is a philosophy that becomes the more significant because it is enunciated by one who is at home in the field of abstract thought, a first-hand observer of world-movements, an optimistic participant in many of them, and above all a pre-eminently sociable being—in the good, old, homely sense of the adjective.

In the eyes of such a woman, however dramatic and interesting the event may be, its implications are never lost. Thus the quick rise and decline of the Progressive party becomes significant, because for the first time it offered the students of social welfare the chance to mobilize on a national scale and to thrust on the attention of the country the need of industrial legislation as a step toward the conservation of the nation's human resources. And even in its decline it confirmed the historical "law" that new parties eventually write the platforms of all the parties. Thus the woman's movement rises to full proportions in its influence on the deliberations of international bodies. Thus the efforts to feed children starving in Germany at the end of the war "drew us back to an examination of ultimate aims—to an interpretation of life itself. It led us to discuss that world-wide 'tradition of a long and profound battle over what does in truth constitute the spiritual life of mankind.' " And thus the episode of the "devil baby," a monster born of gossip but supposed to have been born as a visitation on a blasphemous father, becomes not an amusing anecdote of the workings of rumor among the superstitious but an evidence of the wistful yearnings of downtrodden women who could glimpse some remaining justice in a world where the wrath of God was even so rarely launched at wrathful man.

A paragraph somewhere early in the book contains a key sentiment that, taken out of the whole context, could be easily misinterpreted. It is on the thesis that the heroism of the future will be expressed not in the brandishing of the sword but in the passive per-

sistence in an idea. The only passiveness the author knows is in non-militancy, and she recurs again and again to the contention that the integration of differing ideas, which may begin in discussion, can bear fruit only in activity.

Everyone who has heard or read Miss Addams knows her mastery in the use of illustration. The book is filled with people—though it is an evidence of her kindliness that the scamps and mischief-makers are always veiled in general descriptives and only the benevolent are named; and the array of specific experiences suffered by the obscure reinforces all her opinions on the needs basic beneath the social order. For sheer art I do not know where to turn for a more graphic passage than the one about a visit to a bedridden old woman buoyed in her dying days by a dramatic belief in the Devil Baby. Till one comes to the fateful words, "The bearer of a magic tale never stands dawdling on the doorstep," one hopes against hope that the writer will temper justice with mendacity. It is an engaging aspect of the book that Miss Addams is no purist, so that when dealing with the sordidness of municipal life she writes easily of booze and hijackers, and puts things over and gets away with them and only occasionally remembers to indicate the smile of apology by the use of quotation marks.

The book is not an autobiography in the ordinary sense, but it is so completely the revelation of one of the great characters of the day that one hesitates to close with any words of commendation. Here and there we encounter people whom it would be an impertinence to indorse.

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EQUALIZATION AS A STATE FUNCTION IN EDUCATION, PUBLIC HEALTH, AND WELFARE[1]

WRITERS on public finance distinguish three phases in the fiscal program for any state governmental service. These three phases must be considered whether the governmental service is education or highways or public health or general administration. The first problem is that of securing revenue. This involves the collection of income from public investments, the borrowing of money on public credit, and, most important of all, taxation, direct or indirect. The second phase is that of allocation and apportionment. Having raised a sum of money, the state must decide how and by whom it is to be spent. Under the fiscal system of our American states this is an especially important problem, since the state frequently acts as a collecting agency for money which it turns over to local jurisdictions to spend. The third phase is that of administration. This is the bookkeeping side of the public business and involves such activities as budget estimating, accounting, reporting, and the details of transferring and paying out funds. The central phase of this threefold activity—the phase of apportionment—now claims our attention. The particular problem to be considered relates to the apportionment of state school funds. However, it is hoped that the principles and procedures to be described will be useful in all fields of governmental activity.

The states of the Union differ fundamentally in the amounts, methods, and purposes of their contributions to education. Every state gives some financial aid, as a state, to local school units; but there the resemblance stops. Some states, such as Kansas and Colorado, give a relatively small amount of money from state sources. Others, such as New York and Delaware, pay a large part of the cost of schools on a state basis. While the annual state appropriation for schools in Colorado is $20,000, that of New York is over

[1] Paper delivered before a meeting of the state directors of maternity and infancy work, United States Children's Bureau, April 12, 1930.

$72,000,000. Again, Colorado state appropriations amount to less than one-tenth of 1 per cent of the total cost of education, while Delaware as a state pays over 80 per cent of this cost. Between such extremes all the states of the Union are to be found. In the United States as a whole 16 per cent of the total tax burden for education is borne by the states.[1]

There are as many purposes and methods of distributing this state money as there are states; but, broadly speaking, three general purposes can be discovered. Some states have a state school fund largely for the purpose of securing some participation by the state as a unit in education. Obviously, local units of taxation, such as school-districts, cities, and counties, cannot effectively levy and collect income taxes or sales taxes. If any of the proceeds from such sources of taxation are to be used by the schools, the money must be collected for them by the state. The local units are necessarily limited almost completely to general property taxes. Participation in school support through indirect taxes is, therefore, one of the major purposes of state school funds in this country.

A second major purpose, and one which for a long time was the principal one, is that of stimulation or reward for performance. This is the principle still used by the federal government in distributing its subsidies to the states for vocational education and for road-building. When this purpose controls the apportionment of state funds, the state pays each county or other local unit a reward, which varies according to the amount which the local units provide, dollar for dollar. Thus, the more money the local district raises for schools the more money the state gives it. At other times, indirect methods are used. For instance, a school that will employ a college-trained teacher is given a larger state grant than a school that employs only a high-school graduate. In its various forms, however, the purpose of stimulation or reward for performance is still dominant as far as current practice is concerned.

In theory, however, and to an increasing extent in practice, the idea of stimulation as the sole function of state-school aid has been definitely discarded. There exist, in every state, communities that

[1] U.S. Dept. of the Interior, Office of Education, Bulletin No. 5, *Statistics of State School Systems, 1927–28*, pp. 35–36. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1930.

cannot support good modern-type educational programs even though they levy exorbitant general property taxes in an attempt to do so. It is now rather generally agreed that each state is obligated to supply a reasonable educational opportunity to every child within its borders. The fact that the child happens to reside in a community with a low taxable property valuation is no excuse for depriving him of this reasonable minimum opportunity. This does not mean that all schools are to be reduced to one level of mediocrity, but it does mean that no school in the state shall fall below reasonable standards and that no community need bankrupt its taxpayers to provide such a school. This result is now being secured in a few of our most progressive state school systems by these two methods: (1) the use of a larger local unit (such as the county) for school administration and taxation, and (2) the application of the equalization principle in the distribution of state school funds. Both of these methods—the equalization principle and the enlargement of the unit of administration—can be applied to other governmental activities as well as they can to schools.

The economic texture of any state is infinitely varied. Side by side with a thriving city, where property values are high and much wealth is accumulated, we may find a county consisting largely of poverty-stricken farms or worn-out mining districts, where property valuations are low and most of the inhabitants are struggling for a livelihood. In the former situation, a reasonable tax levy will easily support good schools, adequate health work, a humane welfare program, and other desirable public services. In the contrasting district even meager provisions for education, health, and welfare can be paid for only with great difficulty, and at times with real personal sacrifice. Notice two facts about this situation. First, the citizens of both communities and their children are equally citizens of the state and are equally entitled to a good education, proper public health facilities, and welfare provisions. In the second place, the wealthy cities have, in many cases, become wealthy directly or indirectly at the expense of the poorer rural districts. Taking these two facts into consideration, progressive states distribute their state school fund in such a way as to equalize differences in ability to provide decent educational opportunities.

The actual working-out of a program of educational equalization

is one which involves expert and technical assistance, and which is too complicated to relate in detail here. The essential elements of such a plan, however, will be briefly set forth. It is important to notice that, while this plan has so far been applied chiefly to school funds, it appears that it would be equally sound and equitable if applied to state health or welfare funds.

The first step is to estimate what a reasonable program for the proposed governmental activity will cost in terms of some convenient unit. In the case of schools the cost per child or per teacher is usually used as the unit. In health and welfare work it might be better to use cost per capita of population or some other unit. Suppose, in the case of schools, that this estimated amount needed to support an acceptable minimum educational offering is $100 per child. A reasonable school tax will easily produce more than this amount in some districts and counties and far less than $100 in others. It is the latter group of districts only which are affected by our equalization program. The wealthy counties, which can easily raise the amount needed for the minimum educational offering by levying a reasonable tax, do not share in the equalization fund. The difference between $100 and the amount which each county can raise by the fixed school tax rate is the amount which it will receive from the state equalization fund. This procedure guarantees a reasonable minimum educational opportunity to every child and at the same time leaves every community the option of going as far beyond this minimum as it wishes.

The question always arises, "How much will such a program of equalization cost?" This cannot be answered in specific terms. However, it is evident that in any state the total amount of the equalization fund, roughly speaking, will vary with two factors: first, the cost of the minimum program adopted, and second, the extremes of variation between the poorest and the wealthiest of the districts which receive money from the equalization fund.

To show how an equalization program for education might work out, the statistics of five hypothetical counties have been brought together in Table I. Imaginary cases rather than real ones have been selected in order to keep the illustration simple, and to rule out incidental factors which always occur in actual practice. Table I presents certain statistics concerning five counties. County A has 2,000 children of school age, and a tax valuation of $20,000,000. This

amounts to $10,000 of taxable property per child. Suppose that a reasonable minimum school tax has been fixed at 20 cent per hundred dollars. Such a tax, if levied in County A, would yield $200 per child of school age. Suppose also that $100 per child is needed to maintain the minimum educational offering which the state has fixed for all of its children. Obviously County A will need no help from the equalization fund in order to provide the minimum educational offering with a reasonable school tax. The same conclusion applies to County B, which, although it has a lower property valuation, has also fewer children to educate and can raise the sum of $150 per child on the 20-cent tax. In County C the uniform school tax will raise exactly $100 per child so that this county also will need no help from the equalization fund in order to meet the state's minimum educational program. County D, with 1,000 children of school age and taxable property amounting to $4,750 per child can raise only $95 per child on a 20-cent school tax. The state will therefore need to provide $5.00 per child

TABLE I

ASSUMED STATISTICS IN FIVE COUNTIES

County	Children of School Age	Valuation of Taxable Property	Valuation per Child	Income per Child from a 20-Cent Tax	Income Needed	State Aid per Child Granted
County A.....	2,000	$20,000,000	$10,000	$200	$100	None
County B.....	1,000	7,500,000	7,500	150	100	None
County C.....	2,000	10,000,000	5,000	100	100	None
County D.....	1,000	4,750,000	4,750	95	100	$ 5,000
County E.....	6,000	27,000,000	4,500	90	100	60,000

in County D, in order that its minimum educational offering can be maintained. Since there are 1,000 children in County D the state will appropriate $5,000 to this county. Finally, County E, with 6,000 children of school age, can raise only $90 per child by levying the minimum tax. The state will therefore need to contribute $10 per child in County E if this county is to meet the minimum program without levying more than the tax which has been decided upon as reasonable. Since there are 6,000 children in this county the amount of state aid needed will be $60,000. Of course, any one of the five counties is free to levy more than a 20-cent tax if it wishes to provide schools of an exceptionally high standard. The purpose of equalization is to level up, not to level down.

The hypothetical illustration just given fails to take account of many difficulties which arise in the actual working-out of the plan. Rural areas that must maintain relatively small schools need more money per child to meet the same educational standards than cities and towns where many children can be brought together for instruction. The need for transportation of school children at public ex-

pense is another factor that complicates the situation. Then, too, the question always arises as to what is to be done with the funds that the state is already distributing to the local school districts. Shall these be reapportioned on the equalization basis, or shall equalization funds be provided in addition to the grants that are already in operation? These and other questions arise whenever the practical issue of inaugurating an equalization program is faced in any state. These difficulties, while real, are by no means insuperable; they are not treated here because the chief interest is to make clear the underlying principle.[1]

This review of certain state financial policies may now be summarized in these terms. Financing governmental services involves three functions: collection of revenue, allocation or apportionment of funds, and administrative control of expenditure. The apportionment of state school funds illustrates the purposes, principles, and methods involved in this central phase of public finance. The greatest diversity exists in the amounts and uses of state school funds, but certain trends are observable. Most important is the effort of the states to equalize educational opportunity by enlarging the unit of administration and by distributing their state school funds so as to offset the differences in ability of local units to pay for education. This equalization principle is steadily gaining favor and offers great promise, not only in the field of public education but also in the other essential public services.

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[1] For a guide to the extensive literature on the equalization principle as it relates to state school funds see: National Education Association, Research Division, *Bibliographies on Eight Problems of School Legislation* ("Studies in State Educational Administration," No. 5). Washington, D.C.: The Association, September, 1930. 25 cents.

THE NEW POOR LAW ADMINISTRATION IN LONDON

IT IS not necessary to tell readers of the *Social Service Review* that theorizing or generalizing about poor law administration is only difficult when we are engaged in it—but then it is extremely difficult. The London County council, which, since 1902, has been the education authority for London, and since 1907, the school medical authority, and has of late increased its modest share of the public health work of the County by undertaking part of the campaign against tuberculosis and that against venereal disease, entered, on April 1, 1930, on a vast extension of its functions. By the Local Government Act, 1929, it took over the duties and institutions of twenty-six boards of poor law guardians. It increased the hospital beds of one kind and another under its direct control to 76,000. On the same date it became responsible for the 160,536[1] persons in receipt of assistance under the poor laws, of whom 102,148 were on outdoor relief.

Under the new Act, each of the local authorities about to administer it was required to submit a scheme for its administration, to the minister of health. The situation was rendered a little peculiar by the fact that the Act was passed by a Conservative government. The party in power at County Hall was also Conservative; but the minister to whom its scheme had to be submitted was a member of the Labour cabinet, which had, meantime, assumed the reins of office at Whitehall.

AIM OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT, 1929

Probably the real inwardness of the Local Government Act of 1929 was the conception on the part of Mr. Neville Chamberlain, who was the Conservative minister of health, that local government on this island suffered most from the lack of an adequate sense of responsibility. It is true that some authorities were displaying a laudable activity in endeavoring to bring their locality alongside the

[1] 359 per 10,000 of the population.

most progressive in the world in all the departments of local administration. It is also true that some local authorities displayed a very considerable financial conscience. Certainly foremost among them, in both these respects, was the London County council. A large number of authorities, however, exhibited neither the one nor the other. They either resisted expenditure in an unreasoning spirit, or they squandered very large sums of public money with but little to show for them except their delight in the expenditure. There was a good deal of excuse for this attitude. In a large measure the spending local authorities were not responsible for raising the money, which they drew from another local authority by the process of requisition. There was no such thing as a local authority taking account of the economic resources of its area—of all the services which it would like to render and develop for the inhabitants in the area—placing them in an order of importance and carrying each one of them out proportionately to the economic resources ascertained to be available. Since the war, the poor law guardians had become very large spenders of public money.[1] Yet there had been no thought of collating their requirements with any others. For example, the most enthusiastic Socialists who were using public money to bring every family who applied to them in the area, up to a certain scale of income—a scale far beyond the conceivable earnings of the head of the family—never asked themselves if by chance money thus expended must be taken away from public health, educational, or other services. Nor was there any looking ahead. If an unauthorized strike broke out, 50,000 people might be on relief in a small district, next day. The local representatives who relieved them never dreamed of asking what bearing that might have on teachers' salaries, or the building of new schools, four or five years ahead. By the 1929 Local Government Act, Mr. Chamberlain did, among others, two things. He concentrated a sense of financial responsibility in the County and County borough councils, and compelled them to make plans for five years at a time by arranging their subsidies from national sources in five-year block grants.

[1] £40,989,000 in England and Wales in 1928 (compared to £11,548,885 in 1901, before the national social insurance schemes and old age pensions were introduced).

ANOMALOUS POSITION OF PUBLIC FINANCE IN BRITAIN

At this point we will ask the American reader to take very careful note of the narrow limits within which this ascertainment of local resources and expenditure is possible even now. The present writer was asked by a member of a Royal commission in Sweden engaged in drafting a scheme for the co-ordination of public assistance, how this was managed under the British Local Government Act of 1929. The Swede, himself a professor of social economics, was astounded when informed that, as figures of expenditure under social insurance were not calculated for the areas of local authorities, it would not, even under the Act of 1929, be possible to arrive at a figure inclusive both of public assistance in all the forms of it which are administered by local authorities, and public assistance administered through the three branches of social insurance (national health insurance, unemployment insurance, widows', orphans' and old age contributory pensions). It is not in America that there are any illusions as to the limited power of human attention. We are driven to the belief ourselves, that when Mr. Lansbury—now a cabinet minister—built up the huge expenditure under the poor laws in the Borough of Poplar (in the County of London), he simply did not have present to his mind the fact of the large expenditure going on in the same area, under the various national social insurance laws and the war pensions acts. *Had* the fact been present to his mind, he must necessarily have realized that, for better or worse, he was, in some measure, crippling the progress of education and health services for years to come. The reader will ask why so flagrant a lacuna in co-ordination was not dealt with by Mr. Neville Chamberlain in his Act. The only answer we can suggest is that you do not get the British public to move with such velocity as that would have required. Mr. Chamberlain, in the first draft of his scheme, put in the foreground the co-ordination of poor law relief and unemployment insurance, but his far-reaching ideas failed to interest Parliament, and nothing more was done in that direction.

REMARKABLE GROUP WHO ADMINISTER LONDON

The County of London had the good fortune, twenty-five years ago, to attract to its administration a band of men and women,

including a much-beloved American lady, prepared to devote to it practically the whole of their time and talents. Their constant presence at County Hall, their willingness to make the service of the County their paramount interest every day of their lives, has given any Londoners who are interested in public affairs, an almost boundless confidence in the London County council. The council has benefited, during this century, from the service of quite a number of brilliant salaried officers, but they have been transient figures compared to this wonderful group of members. The best-known of these today are Sir Cyril Cobb and Mr. Ronald Norman, and nothing demonstrates more clearly the importance attached by the County council to the functions entrusted to it by the Act of 1929, than the acceptance of the duties of chairman of the new Public Assistance Committee, and chairman of its General Purposes Subcommittee, by Sir Cyril Cobb and Mr. Ronald Norman, respectively. It is fair to remember, however, that the party in power at County Hall were averse to the addition of poor law to the other functions of the council. It was felt that great health and educational issues would be obscured at election time, by frenzied attempts to secure office which would more and more take the form of mere bids for votes by promises of high outdoor relief. The situation was further complicated by the fact that the twenty-eight metropolitan boroughs who share with the County council the functions of local government within the County, refused to come into any scheme propounded by the minister, short of being entrusted with the whole of the poor law administration themselves. This idea was diametrically opposed to Mr. Chamberlain's vision of a single local authority with a local financial conscience. After the breakdown of the negotiations, he came to the County council and practically insisted upon their accepting poor law functions. The situation thus created was a remarkable one. The members, who were with difficulty manning the committees and subcommittees of the council, and only transacting their duties, with a moderate satisfaction to themselves, by giving their whole lives to it, were asked to add to those duties, others which had for many years been performed—by no means always in an adequate manner—by 644 persons (the aggregate number of poor law guardians formerly elect-

ed to the twenty-five boards of guardians in the County of London), despite the fact that there again, quite a large number of people were giving practically their whole time to the work.

NOMINATION SUPERSEDES ELECTION

The proposition was clearly impossible, and at a late stage of the progress of the bill through Parliament, a clause was added, giving the London County council power to *nominate* to serve on poor law committees, as many people as they should find necessary for the purpose. At a stroke of the pen, public functions, conditioned by a triennial appeal to the electorate, were transferred to persons selected and nominated for their capacity to carry out the duties in a satisfactory manner. It is quite impossible to overstate the magnitude of this change. The County of London constitutes, with its population of four and one-half millions, the central portion of a town peopled by twice that number.[1] Between 1911 and 1921, the population of the County declined considerably. There are not many portions of it in which people care any longer to reside who can secure accommodation further from the center. This means that the enormous majority of the population of the County are entitled by statute to receive, from time to time, public assistance of one kind or another, for selves or dependents, including benefits under social insurance. We have not here a community of varying degrees of affluence, deciding what it is wise to do about that small section of it which is dependent.

HOPES OF SOCIAL WORKERS

When it became known that the members to serve on the actual relief committees would be selected because of their competence for the work, it did indeed seem to be "the rich dawn of an ampler day." Social workers had felt for long the tragic pathos of having the sorrows and failures of their fellow-subjects made the topic of violent altercation in committee rooms between men and women not always sober, and in any case having thoughts and ambitions poles away from social or family case work. But those of us who speculated

[1] The population of the Metropolitan Police District of London in 1921 was 7,480,201 and the population of the proposed London Health Area in 1921 was 9,610,204.

upon the marvelous opening for case-work service for each one of London's economic failures, were blissfully ignorant of the lion in the path.

For particular reasons connected with a prominent citizen long since dead, a keen, not to say fierce, party spirit has permeated the deliberations at County Hall throughout most of the history of the County council. The mantle of fierce opposition descended to the present Labour party, who did anything but abate its fury. In order to secure the transaction of a vast mass of administrative detail, an eirenicon was indispensable. The plan adopted was that the parties should nominate the members for all committees and subcommittees of the Council in proportion to their elected strength on the council. These nominations are made by the party leaders outside, and come before the council and its committees according to agreed arrangements. (Whatever we may think of the system—and many people are horrified by the "party" nature of it—the saving of time and nervous tissue is incalcuable.) Now observe the effect upon the new machinery of poor law administration. There was a time when the work of certain boards of guardians was not wholly unlike that of a good family society case-conference. Since the war this has not been possible. The expectations in the matter of public assistance have been too large. In consequence, the London boards were divided between the Socialist boards—eager to use the machinery for the equalization of wealth, and for bringing every man, woman, and child up to a standard of income equivalent to what the Trade unions would like to have secured for their members, and what, in fact, Socialist local authorities were giving in wages to their employees—and the non-Socialist boards, which, confronted by the terrific outpouring of public money in many directions, tended to concentrate on keeping their relief lists low and giving the new social insurance a chance to function. Where these were successful they were able to give careful consideration to the individuals on relief, and valuable work was undoubtedly done. They might perhaps have risked undertaking additional cases, but for the fear of being submerged if they opened the floodgates at all. On April 1, 1930, it was a matter of Hey! Presto! indeed. On every relief committee throughout the County there appeared nominated members *in the propor-*

tion of the elected strength of the parties at County Hall. Throughout the areas where the Socialists had reigned supreme for ten, twenty, twenty-five years, they suddenly found themselves in a minority on committee. Per contra, in the areas where municipal reform majorities had kept the relief lists down to a minimum, there appeared equally on their committees, an extremely vocal Socialist minority.

NERVOUS STRAIN RESULTING FROM PARTY CONFLICT

At the time of writing—the end of August, 1930—when the work has been going on for five months, the tension has appreciably abated, but it has been very severe indeed. Unhappily it was intensified by certain extraneous causes. Sir Cyril Cobb had all along been doubtful of the supply of social workers and other volunteers. Consequently, the new committees were planned on an economical scale in regard to personnel. Again, to carry out the government "breakup the poor law" policy every poor law service, which could be described as a health service, was *transferred* to the Central Health Committee of the London County council, and, under a self-denying ordinance, staff and premises were transferred with them on an ultra-generous scale. In consequence, the newly-appointed committees sat down in many areas to deal with the enormous relief lists they inherited from their Socialist predecessors; and to do so with inadequate staff, especially clerical, and under a running fire of eloquent opposition—of which the principal purpose was that the whole machine should be found unworkable, and should break down. Nor did the opposition stop at speech-making. At a preconcerted signal, they would get up and walk out of the room with well-feigned indignation, leaving *less than a quorum*, while several hundreds of applicants, not yet dealt with, thronged the corridors and precincts of the inadequate premises. This maneuver might take place at any hour from ten in the morning until ten in the evening. In consequence of this remarkable maneuver of their "Labour" friends, the telephone and telegraph systems of London have been worked at any hours up till one in the morning to secure quorums for committees and thus make it legal to deal with applicants for outdoor relief with the delay of as few hours as

possible. It should perhaps be explained that the County Council set their faces against decisions being made upon relief applications in the absence of a quorum of four members. This arose from the grave scandals with which many parts of London had become familiar, of individual poor law guardians sitting alone and distributing outdoor relief to the persons who elected them to the board—a common practice in Poplar, Greenwich, and elsewhere.

The reader will remember that in twenty-four hours these duties passed, from elected persons long hardened to wordy battles, to benign social workers intensely sympathetic with the inwardness of the applicants' troubles and totally averse by temperament from anything of the nature of party politics and public wrangles. No greater proof could be sought of the real devotion to the interests of the poor of London by the persons who answered the call to this service issued by Sir Cyril Cobb than the fact that, after five months, hardly one of them has resigned.

DIFFICULTY OF INTRODUCING CASE WORK

Up to date they have hardly had the chance of beginning to attempt the thing they came to do. A few words will, we believe, make this clearer to American readers, who are all familiar with the case-work idea, than it could be to the British, who mostly are not! The social workers came into this new poor law service to do case work for the applicants. How much case work can be done in one day on 250 cases, under the nerve-racking conditions we have attempted to indicate? But there are forces at work far more powerful than the mere strain upon the nerves of social workers. The high numbers on the relief lists had become the dominating factor. This will become clear from a brief explanation. Relief, except emergency relief in kind, may only be given after a "Committee" has passed an order to that effect. Consequently every case must be presented by the relieving officer and a decision made and recorded. Bearing this in mind let us look at the numbers. The highest number of persons on outdoor relief in the Poplar Union (population 164,000), since the war, has been 66,000.[1] It remained for several years round about 30,000. It had been reduced to 24,852 by March,

[1] In May, 1926, at the time of the general strike.

1930, only through the constant efforts of the ministry's inspectors, and the threat of suspending the board of guardians altogether under the Act[1] specially introduced by Mr. Chamberlain for the purpose. When Mr. Lloyd George by his Act of 1921 permitted local boards of guardians to draw upon the whole County for the financing of their outdoor relief, Mr. Lansbury[2] perceived a chance of trying the experiment which had most appealed to him all his life, viz., of proving the truth of Bernard Shaw's aphorism "There is nothing amiss with the poor except their poverty." Mr. Lloyd George did not intend, when he passed the Act, that one small suburb should levy an enormous annual sum upon the whole County to finance the utopian experiment of one man; but by skilful handling of the threat of disturbance it has been found possible to do so for ten years, and the curtailment of the experiment has only now begun. The reader begins to perceive the kind of financial Frankenstein Mr. Lansbury had reared up in his endeavor to equalize wealth and abolish poverty in Poplar. Let us try to appreciate the intricate and baffling task he has provided for the new committees. The agreed policy of his country and especially of his party was to substitute for the poor law, with its supposed taint, a system of social insurance. In answer to a question asked in a letter by Mr. Sidney Webb (now Lord Passfield), an interdepartmental committee on public assistance administration formulated this policy very fully and completely in 1924 in a *Report on the Co-ordination of Administrative and Executive Arrangements for the Grant of Assistance from Public Funds on Account of Sickness, Destitution, and Unemployment.*[3]

So far as the vicissitudes of life are to be met from public sources, the aim as set out in that *Report* is that they should be met by one branch or another of the system of social insurance—while in the background, to deal with exceptional cases, there would still be the poor law.

Nothing is more disappointing in modern British history than the apparent failure of the people to give social insurance, as insurance, a chance. The twenty unemployment insurance acts which have

[1] This Act came into operation in July, 1926.

[2] Now a member of the Labour cabinet.

[3] Cmd. 2011.

been passed since 1911 have effectively converted that measure from the ingenious contrivance for fostering regular employment both on the part of employers and employees, which Sir William Beveridge had devised, into a system of outdoor relief from national taxation, which has made employers and employees alike indifferent to the duration and regularity of their contracts of employment. How far, we would ask, has the line taken by Mr. Lansbury and his followers, both in London and out of it, of the automatic supplementation of insurance benefits from poor law sources, destroyed the possibility of a constructive appreciation of the insurance idea by the mass of the people, and most of all by that section of it for whose benefit the schemes were devised? For it is most unhappily true of the whole of our social insurance today, that the people with whom the scheme works smoothly could have perfectly well done without it, while the rest use it only as a portion of their outdoor relief.

In the lean and anxious years following the war this bankrupt island has dared to raise its expenditure on social insurance to £116,000,000 a year—or perhaps it would be truer to say had been too much frightened to refuse to spend that amount. Nevertheless, in a semi-industrial suburb containing 164,000 people in a time of industrial prosperity[1] Mr. Lansbury had brought the expenditure under the poor law to just under £1,000,000 a year. Had his policy been adopted all over the County of London, in 1928, £18,000,000 a year would have been added to the County expenditure, and had bad times ensued, nothing could have averted the necessity of closing schools and hospitals and dismissing teachers, doctors, and nurses. When all this had been done, Mr. Lansbury told the world, in speeches which materially assisted the Labour party to come into power a year ago, that he had "never known a more miserable year in Poplar." We shall see in a few moments how true his statement was. Meantime we believe our readers will be more interested in another aspect of this Frankenstein.

[1] A collation of the figures for new entrants into unemployment insurance, with the percentage of unemployed in the London area, shows that Greater London absorbed 50,000 new wage-earners per annum in 1923–29—300,000 in all. The Census of 1921 shows that 28,000 persons entered Poplar every morning from other areas to earn their living. There are plenty of evidences in the borough that the 1931 Census will show a greater figure.

High scales of relief and a declared policy of making all incomes up to a "living wage" had brought, as we have seen, *large numbers* onto the relief lists. The method and character of the work was thenceforward dominated by this fact to the supersession of all others. There is a circle at work here, familiar to students of the history and theory of the poor law. If you have large numbers neither committee nor officer can do case work. If you do case work your numbers will not rise much or remain high for long. Mr. Lansbury has always detested case work and has exhausted the resources of the English dictionary in saying so inside and outside of the House of Commons. Had someone else, say Mrs. Webb, tried the experiment of bringing all incomes up to a scale, we believe she would have engaged *enough competent staff* to deal with the cases, and she might have escaped the curse of high numbers. Mr. Lansbury only wanted plenty of docile clerks who would do what they were told and that was the simple arithmetical calculation of the difference between the alleged income of the applicant and the living wage as understood by himself.

We hope we have now put the reader in possession of something like a picture of outdoor relief administration when the nominated social workers shouldered the task on April 1, 1930.

An officer enters the small and dingy Committee room followed by two or three men carrying bundles of case papers. A long typed list of names and addresses is placed before each member. The officer reads out the name, adding, "his 'scale' will be (so many) £——, —— *s.*, —— *d.*" The man is called in. The chairman says, "same as before." The officer adds, "come to me on Wednesday," and hands applicant a card showing the amount.

If that procedure is carried out on each case the work of that committee can be finished in four or five hours and the great throng of applicants can get their cards and go. If the magic words "same as before" are not uttered, three battles will instantly ensue. The applicant will stoutly and fiercely defend his "scale." The Labour members present will do likewise—a reduction of 6*d.* is denounced as "disgustin'," "murder that's all it is!"—and the officer will display marked resentment that his calculation has been called in question. Now observe! We on our side of the table were barely interested in this money sum at all! We knew of course that at all costs the Labour slogan "Make Poplarism Londonism" must not

happen, since the resultant expenditure would cripple all other services; and we knew that our duty to London was to abate the glaring injustice to other parts of London of this high relief in Poplar. But we had not come there to take part in arithmetical dialectic. We wanted to know why the man in front of us had fallen out of the march of humanity, and, even more, what skills there were in all this modern psychiatric world to set Humpty Dumpty upon his social and economic wall again. We were met by the saddest sight a social worker can witness, a man or woman passionately defending the status of being a failure and a social burden, for the sake of its financial endowment, his or her "scale." Two articles of faith were shared by the applicants, the officers, the Labour members, and Mr. Lansbury, viz., (1) that there was no employment of any sort for men, however "magnificently skilled,"[1] and (2) that there was no employment of any sort for women, especially robust widows without dependents, of thirty-five to forty summers. Readers of this *Review* know how little employment there is ever anywhere for people who are deeply and passionately convinced of the lack of it. For that is, is it not, the meaning of employment, the will to cooperate in production or service: what will for either can accompany a conviction that social life is dead, and that nobody wants any goods or services at all? Yet Poplar is a riverside borough containing five dock basins and miles of wharfage. Its typical and traditional livelihood is the loading and unloading of ships in the Thames. During those precise years when, led by Mr. Lansbury, the workers of Poplar, their Labour members who monopolized their representation on all authorities local and national, and the relieving officers appointed to serve them, were all convinced that work for wages could not be found by Poplar men, the *net tonnage handled in the Port of London rose steadily year by year from 32,758,600 tons in 1920 to 57,578,355 tons in 1929!*

Reader, you have by now, we hope, seated yourself at that committee table: your mind and heart are full of the rich possibilities of major family case-work service for each applicant: but these three fierce dogs will bark and snap at you if you dare so much as

[1] The phrase used by Mr. Lansbury in a speech a year ago about Poplar men who had done no work since the war.

mention it. What of the sick? We will disregard that curious entry in the "disability" column—"widow." (We could have understood "baby in arms" or "children under school age," but as a "disability" in a world so terribly needing the service of women who know by experience how to be useful, we could only ask why the disability class would always include "widow"!) What precisely is meant by "neurasthenia[1] permanent," "cardiac debility permanent," "nasal catarrh permanent," "bronchitis and asthma permanent," "gastralgia," "ulcerated legs, likely to be permanent"? These entries are all made by the salaried medical officers of the public assistance authority. We heard a lecture not many months back by the regius professor of medicine at Oxford University on "The Dumping Ground of Neurasthenia"—and here it really is! Poplar is surely the dump itself! Our medical friends assure us that none of these diagnoses have any medical value. They are too vague. They may be applied to sick, even very sick, men. In themselves they tell us nothing. No doubt about it in medicine! But in the poor law, on the other hand, they are *the means of defending the precious "scale."* If you will go on snuffling enough, shaking enough, and wobbling enough, you shall have a "living wage," my boy, twice what you ever earned, and for life, and an additional allowance for every baby you like to bring into the world! No doubt this is partly due to applied Socialism, but far more it is an effect of *numbers*. The committee may not order relief to a sick case without a medical certificate of sickness made out for each occasion, unless the district medical officer has added the mystic word "permanent." Consequently just in so far as he uses this device he reduces his work and brings down for himself these formidable *numbers*. Hence a youth of thirty-two or thirty-five is entered up as "permanently disabled" by "nasal catarrh." A man of thirty-six appeared before the committee today (August 27, 1930). Turning up the case paper we found the last medical certificate to be "cardiac permanent" and a date in *1926*. Even this does not exhaust the subtle working of the "scale." If you are deeply enough convinced that there is no employment for fit men and women, how much less for the doubt-

[1] A medical referee said the other day at a discussion of this problem that he and his colleagues would like to see "traumatic neurasthenia" expunged from the dictionary.

fully fit? What a relief to get them safely stowed away on the doctor's list! Our leading national authorities are alarmed by the evidence of their statistics that national health insurance finance is carrying part of the burden of unemployment. We have found the process in full swing under the poor laws in Poplar, and that too when the unemployment was largely a figment of Mr. Lansbury's imagination! We want Alice's Red Queen in England, to forbid the use of the words "unemployed" and "unemployment" for fifty years.

SOME WIDER BEARINGS

This conviction, held so fervently in those parts of London hitherto dominated by Socialist poor law guardians, that there is no industrial activity possible for men ailing in any way or even aging—and therefore no solution of their life's problems except permanent allowances under the poor laws—in a time of active industrial expansion all round them, contrasts with advice lately obtained from the advisory medical council of the Industrial Welfare Society. Far from regarding every man, ailing or slightly disabled, as debarred from industrial life, that council assures us that it comes upon practically no men and women seeking industrial employment who are fit in all respects, and its business in life is to adjust the manifold disabilities of ordinary human lives to the varied requirements of the firms which they serve.

This piling-up of numbers on relief lists, this reduction of poor law administration to drab, mechanical money sums, exhibits a level of mental capacity reached by ordinary human beings at seven years of age. We are reputed the least intelligent and worst educated people on the surface of the globe, and this million pounds a year spent in a small industrial suburb of London, in the manner we have tried to describe, might well be adduced as proof of this statement.

A visit to a relief office in an *arrondissement* of Paris provided an instructive contrast. The scale of relief was extremely low, and the numbers applying for it were and had been very small, even at the worst moment since the war. This was accounted for, to us who visited the office, by the experienced and thoughtful officer in charge, as due even more to the attitude of the people themselves than to the method of administration. The French have too much sense,

it appears, to crush their own community under burdens of this description, knowing that they would themselves be the chief sufferers. The Poplar administration, and that of the other London unions who followed Mr. Lansbury's lead, throw a lurid light upon the prospects of social insurance in this island. If the supplementation of social insurance benefits, to bring them "up to scale," is to be automatic and based solely on arithmetical calculation, what in the world is the use of having a social insurance scheme at all? It serves no purpose in the world except that of charging the community with a double administrative machine for distributing public relief.

Here are two results of this dual system of public assistance which may interest American readers:

(1) A poor law committee, ambitious of getting a man adequately diagnosed and treated and launched out into life again, finds itself thwarted by a certificate of sickness signed by his doctor under national health insurance. Inquiry shows that the doctor never refuses to "sign up" any of his clients for sickness benefit for fear they might leave him and go elsewhere! His income depends on his numbers. But the people can always change their doctor.

(2) Similarly, a poor law committee seeking to take a constructive view of a case where an able-bodied man has done nothing for years but draw relief and bring babies into the world, can do nothing because his main source of income is unemployment benefit, and he only comes to poor law sources for a supplement. This duality completely paralyses poor law officers. They seem to regard the other State source like a rockbound coast which cannot be approached, and they are right. As matters stand, nothing can be done.[1]

There is a widespread feeling, especially out of England, that in the Labour party are to be found the advance guard of the young intelligentsia, and that social problems receive among them a more

[1] American students might be interested if they turned over British public assistance case papers where the whole family income is made up of allowances from various sources. Thus you may easily find in one household in addition to outdoor relief allowances under national health insurance, unemployment insurance, widows' pensions, old age pensions, the blind persons act, war pensions act, borough milk, education milk, tuberculosis milk, etc.

enlightened handling than in the stuffy circles of Tories and old-fashioned Liberals. The present writer has sat for many long and weary hours in years past and also since April 1, 1930, listening to the endless iterations of the Socialist spokesmen—both at County Hall and locally. Not on one single occasion has he heard one sentence revealing the least attempt to wrestle with the problems which arise in poor law work, or the slightest acquaintance with the mass of literature dealing with dependency and social rehabilitation, which has poured from the publishing houses of America, Europe, and Australia since the war. Members on the municipal reform side at County Hall are familiar with Mr. and Mrs Webb's two recent formidable volumes of poor law history. The Labour party are totally unacquainted with them, and resent all reference to them. To take money from those who have it, and hand it, under any statute—one is as good as another—to those who ask for it, and thus to obtain political power—that seems to be the sum total of their ambition. These words are written in no partisan spirit.[1] No other description could possibly be given of the discussions at public assistance committees since April 1, 1930.

ONE GREAT AUTHORITY FOR TWENTY-SIX

We have described the advent of the selected and nominated members, and their enormous difficulties in dealing with what a certain policy—but still more, the numbers engendered by that policy—had made a dreadfully inhuman and mechanical administration. The mere arrival of these new members may well prove to be a bigger thing than the obstacles which at present dismay them. The best observers declare that the manning of poor law committees with keen, public spirited citizens of varied experience of the world, drawn from all parts of the metropolis, and the dispersion of the tiny, narrow-minded, little local coteries, with their little groups of subservient officers, which have monopolized local government in so many parts of the area hitherto, is a civic gain of the first magnitude and hopefulness. In the East London area, which includes Poplar, this claim may be made in the fullest meas-

[1] The present writer was not a member of any party until asked to serve on the public assistance committee where service necessitated joining a party.

ure. The hundred or so of social workers and public spirited citizens recruited and appointed to serve there by the Municipal Reform party, are as promising a band as could be desired. The next step is obviously the conversion of the officers of these little local bodies into officers of a first-class authority like the County of London. We are familiar with a London education service, a London health service, and a London police service. We anticipate, after a very short passage of time, an astonishing change in the outlook of the poor law officers. They have only to realize that they are now County officers.

THE SHADOW OF THE NEXT ELECTION

Unfortunately, there will be a County council election next March. Every officer who secured his appointment from a Socialist board looks for the return of the Socialists to power next year, after which he imagines that he will settle down to the easy mechanical distribution of money and goods which served instead of case work before the first of April of this year. He is totally mistaken. The return of the Socialists next March will hinder, delay, and confuse the process, but nothing can prevent the rise of a County poor law service which will rapidly become largely independent of parties. The two chiefs already secured as heads of that service are admitted on all sides to be as nearly as possible perfectly qualified for the task. This does not mean that leadership will count for nothing. The brightest star on the London public assistance horizon is the leadership of Mr. Ronald C. Norman. It is that which gives hope, cheer, and confidence to every one of those who have come forward to serve. Should that leadership be lost to us at the election of 1931, the days which follow will be dark indeed. Should it be preserved for three more years, the ship of London poor law administration should be well founded enough to weather the storms of political change. Meantime, the ramifications of the fear of March, 1931, are surprising. Two of the principal mental specialists serving the council were asked whether they could be appealed to for second opinions on these unhappy "neurasthenia permanent" cases of which we have such numbers. The reply was "You are trying to bring us into politics, and getting us to decide whether relief is to

be continued or not." Nothing was further from our thoughts, nor should we take their advice on any such question; but it shows how fresh the "pugs" are, of the "lion in the path"!

Our emphasis upon the perils involved in the County council election of March, 1931, depends largely upon the fact that persons in receipt of poor law relief who were disfranchised up to the year 1918, have since that year been allowed to use their votes. People well acquainted with local politics are strongly of the opinion that few of the Labour members sitting on the County council at the present time, would be there if the paupers were disfranchised. Mr. Neville Chamberlain is reported to have satisfied himself that the disfranchisement of paupers was essential for a healthy local administration, but was unable to persuade his party to support him, and the chance of carrying this measure, made possible by the large majority then enjoyed by the Conservative government, was lost.

NEW REGULATION REGARDING ABLE-BODIED MEN

As in many parts of America at different times, outdoor relief to an able-bodied person was contrary to the poor law statutes and regulations of this island, from 1834 to 1911. Mr. John Burns, the famous trade-union leader, who was president of the local government board, in a circular issued in the latter year, permitted such outdoor relief "in exceptional circumstances," but ordered that everyone of these "departures" from the statutory prohibition should be reported to himself. Under this administrative provision, hundreds of thousands of able-bodied persons have received outdoor relief since the war. In post-war politics the check designed by Mr. Burns proved quite illusory. Great anxiety has developed in all circles, in the last few years, about the demoralization consequent upon subsistence in idleness on public funds. No one has spoken better or more eloquently on the subject than Mr. Lansbury, although no one has ordered the maintenance of so many able-bodied persons from poor law sources as he has.

This was the situation which Mr. Arthur Greenwood found when he took office as minister of health[1] in the Labour government in June, 1929. He made haste to deal with it, and in his order issued on March 27, 1930, he required that every able-bodied man granted

[1] The modern designation of the president of the local government board.

outdoor relief "must be set to work, trained, or instructed." We are of opinion that Mr. Greenwood showed no small courage in placing his signature to this order. It has received nothing but adverse criticism and obstruction from his political followers in the County of London. The County council, however, went to work at once to make the order a reality, and by the time this article is in print, arrangements will be in operation under which all able-bodied men receiving outdoor relief can be sent to training and instruction, at residential and non-residential centers provided for the purpose. It is worth while to dwell for a moment upon this important experiment. Relief works have a bad reputation in this country, owing to the lack of incentive to work at them in a proper manner. Test work has, if anything, a worse repute. For ourselves, we place most hope in the physical training which will be part of the work at these centers. There is a rich supply of really fine instructors left over from the war. We hope to see some of our young applicants—lads of nineteen and twenty, now taking cover behind their babies and living in idleness at the public expense—remade by these "P.T. sergeants." On the other hand, we have a good deal of sympathy with the older men who have been told so many thousands of times by the Socialists that public authorities can, if they like, find them work at wages, and who find themselves doing what they think is "work" at these centers, and getting what they think is nothing for it. The relief paid into their homes while they are at the center does not somehow appeal to them as an equivalent of wages, though in fact it is larger in amount than the wages many of them can ever earn.

It is hardly necessary to add that attendance at a training center will not interfere with a man's obtaining work, or "signing on" at the Employment Exchange so as to remain in unemployment benefit.

This country has settled down with such a desperate completeness, to imagine that all human problems can only be, and must be, dealt with in a wholesale manner, that many will misunderstand the contribution the training centers can make. They are, of course, merely one of the many tools that must be used by the committees and their officers, in doing proper case work, case by case.

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE AND SCHOOL CARE COMMITTEES

Curiously enough, there has been built up, under the aegis of the London County council, a very considerable body of case-work service for school children, very largely under the leadership of Miss T. M. Morton, for twenty-one years principal organizer of school care committees. Some Chicago readers are familiar with this piece of service. They may remember that Miss Morton came into the work from the C.O.S. or family case-work group. It is a symptom of the mechanical methods into which the administration of the poor laws has fallen, that there is at the moment very little co-operation between this fine case-work enterprise and public assistance, notwithstanding the fact that in "P.A. 1" (the first set of instructions issued by the new public assistance committee), attention is drawn to the grave responsibility of paying public funds into households where there are conditions militating against the proper upbringing of children. If the London care committee movement—a delicate plant in this wicked world—can survive until the London County public assistance finds itself, both will be mutually enriched.

In conclusion, we firmly believe that the London County council will somehow wear down the walls of departmentalism, and focus upon the County's social and economic failures, the resources of "no mean City." We believe that it will cease to put crude patches of new cloth, in cash or kind, on to the rents of souls worn threadbare by years of bad politics—but show us an example, even on this island, of a public authority doing the "invisible mending" of good case work. We believe that the council will build up a wonderful poor law service in the County, and we believe that it will succeed more and more in attracting to a selected and nominated service on the relief committees the cream of its citizens.

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LONDON, ENGLAND

STATISTICS FOR INSTITUTIONS FOR JUVENILE DELINQUENTS

WHAT SORT SHALL WE KEEP? HOW SHALL WE USE THEM?[1]

REHABILITATION, individual and social, of the delinquent child is the fundamental aim of the modern institution for juvenile delinquents. All institutional efforts are directed toward the correction of physical or mental deficiencies, toward upbuilding of character, and toward the formation of proper habits so that the child may grow up to be moral and self-respecting and take his place in the community utilizing his capabilities to the best advantage.

Rehabilitation means the application of constructive measures (and sometimes restrictive measures), and managers of institutions for juvenile delinquents have long since recognized that rehabilitative efforts cannot be applied advantageously unless the institution has in its possession complete and enlightened knowledge of the individual delinquent child and of his background.

In the pursuance of its work the modern institution for juvenile delinquents thus has come to have accumulated an enormous amount of information which is capable of throwing an important light upon the problem of institutional management, of the make-up and career of the juvenile delinquent, of juvenile delinquency in general, and of its causes.

In urging the use of this mass of data statistically, it is not proposed to turn the institution into a statistical bureau and have it forget its primary functions. Nor is it believed that statistics in themselves can solve institutional problems or make our understanding of the problem of juvenile delinquency easier.

Statistics are to be regarded as useful tools in the work of the institution, as gauges to determine the effectiveness of the institution's many and varied efforts. As I see it, the advantages that would

[1] The author acknowledges his indebtedness for valuable suggestions to Calvin Derrick, superintendent, New Jersey State Home for Boys.

accrue to the institutional manager and to the student of juvenile delinquency and of the crime problem in general from a comprehensive system of standardized statistics for institutions for juvenile delinquents could be enumerated as follows:

1. It will furnish an illuminating picture of the physical, mental, and social make-up of the institutional population; of the general nature of the problems presented by the child to the institution for solution; of the extent and kind of services rendered by the institution in its rehabilitative efforts.

2. It will permit definite comparisons of the situations of one institution with other institutions in the same state or in other states, for the same period or for any period that might be selected.

3. It will permit the combining of the figures for similar institutions in the same state and thus furnish a composite picture of the institutional juvenile delinquency problems.

4. It will permit the combining of the figures for all institutions for juvenile delinquents in the United States and thus fit into the plan of development for the current collection on a national scale of statistics of delinquency.

5. It is likely to point out significant factors which contribute to the causation of juvenile delinquency and throw light upon the possibilities of correction and prevention.

With these ideas in mind, we have made a study of the statistical contents of annual reports of institutions for juvenile delinquents, selecting twenty-eight of the larger ones scattered all over the United States.[1] We find that in no two could the data recorded be easily compared, nor would it be possible to combine readily the figures for any two institutions. This arises from the fact that there is no generally accepted agreement as to the units to be used in tabulation or of the classification to be adhered to in the statistical presentations. It will be found, on the other hand, that most of the institutions have statistical tables covering similar points.

All but two reports have movement-of-population tables. The data about the individual child generally are confined to the admissions for the year. Fourteen institutions use either nationality or

[1] Analysis made by Miss Helen E. Heyer, of the Research Staff of the New Jersey State Department of Institutions and Agencies.

nativity tables or both. Home relations are recorded by nineteen institutions. The religion of the admissions is given in twelve institutions and a few are interested also in the religion of the parents.

Previous school attendance of admissions is recorded by eleven institutions. Nineteen report the counties from which the delinquent children are committed, and six of these have a table showing the cities.

Offenses are listed, sometimes in considerable detail, by seventeen institutions. One institution shows previous arrests, and another shows the number of times delinquents have been in other institutions.

Financial data are given by each institution. Sometimes it is a brief statement of total receipts and expenditures and sometimes expenditures are given in great detail.

Fourteen institutions make some mention of their staff. The value of institutional buildings is reported by eight institutions.

The parole data are for the most part included in the movement-of-population tables. Eight institutions show in a general way the employment of the parolees. Seven make statements showing what percentages of parolees are successful, fairly successful, or unsuccessful. Detailed reports by individual parole officers are given in a number of cases.

From this study of the statistical contents of reports of institutions for juvenile delinquents, it is apparent that they are agreed in general as to the type of information they wish to keep and report, and it should not be difficult, therefore, to arrive at some general agreement as to the unit of tabulation or the classification to be used in statistical presentations; and to cast our statistics in such form that they may be comparable from year to year for the same institution, for different localities, and for the country at large.

The following has to be kept in mind in connection with our standardizing efforts: An adequate statistical reporting system for institutions for juvenile delinquents requires agreement as to the unit of measurement, generally accepted definitions of the terms used, the compilation of statistical material by competent persons, and the services of central co-ordinating agencies (state and national) which can promote uniformity and efficiency in statistical

processes, exercise leadership in the development of definitions and classifications, and assemble, interpret, and publish statistical material from the different institutions.

It is important to point out that at the basis for the compilation of uniform and comprehensive statistics for institutions for juvenile delinquents, is a complete record of the child's case from the date of the first admission to the discharge from the institution or to the end of the parole supervision.[1]

The statistical information regarding the individual child, which it is possible to obtain from good case records, is an invaluable aid toward an understanding of the problems of juvenile delinquency. From it may be had the detailed analysis of the characteristics of the population passing through the hands of institutions for juvenile delinquents, of the problems presented by the individual child and his family, of the problems created by family disorganization, and of specific community situations productive of child delinquency.

RECORDS THAT SHOULD BE KEPT

The individual child's record should contain date of birth; birthplace and birth status; age at admission; sex and race; physical condition and mental condition; education and employment; charge in present delinquency and previous contact with social agencies, police, court, or institution; whereabouts of child at time of admission; marital status and whereabouts of parents at time of child's admission; legal residence of father and mother; country of birth of child's parents and mother tongue of father and of mother; religion of father and mother; economic condition of family; previous contact of members of the family with social agencies, police, court, or penal institutions; date of child's leaving the institution or placement on his parole; data of subsequent community adjustment; analysis of contributing social factors causing the child to be brought under the institution's care.

The statistical tables which are suggested here are considered to be the minimum which should be compiled by all institutions for juvenile delinquents in order to furnish annually an index of the

[1] Valuable suggestions regarding records are made in *Training Schools for Delinquent Girls* by Margaret Reeves, recently issued by the Russell Sage Foundation.

volume of juvenile delinquency from the institutional side, of the mental and physical condition of the children admitted, and of the family and community background.

Extent and movement of population.—These statistics will include the number on books on the first day of the year; admissions to the institution during the year (from courts, returned from parole, transferred from penal and correctional or hospital institutions); loss of institutional population during the year (paroled, released on expiration of sentence or on becoming of age, recalled by court, transferred to penal, correctional, or hospital institutions, died); parole record showing number on parole on the first day of the year, number paroled, number returned from parole, final discharge from supervision by expiration of sentence; escape record showing number escaped and number returned.

These figures will show the extent to which children are cared for in institutions for juvenile delinquency, the volume of traffic of the institution, the changes in the extent of care of children in institutions for juvenile delinquents—all this data to be interpreted in the light of social and economic condition and their possible influences upon juvenile delinquency.

Important as are figures on the extent of the movement of population, detailed figures on the admissions to institutions for juvenile delinquents are even more significant "for they reflect the policy of the courts during a known period and are not influenced by such factors as length of commitment period and parole policies which can be measured only by means of detailed studies."

Enumeration of the admissions might cover the following factors:[1]

1. Age (in single years), sex, color.

2. Nativity and parentage of child to include native-born of native parentage; native born of foreign or mixed parentage; and foreign born.

[1] Valuable suggestions have been received from the following publications: *Children under Institutional Care, 1923* (United States Bureau of the Census), *Juvenile Court Statistics—a Tentative Plan for Uniform Reporting of Statistics of Delinquency, Dependency and Neglect* (United States Children's Bureau), and *Instructions for Compiling Criminal Statistics—a Manual for the Use of Penal Institutions, Police Departments, Courts, Prosecutors, and Federal and Probation Agencies* (United States Bureau of the Census).

3. Literacy and school attendance, showing number literate and illiterate, in school prior to admission and not attending school prior to admission, school last attended and grade attained, school attendance and period of non-attendance.

4. Employment immediately prior to admission, showing those reported as employed; not employed, previously employed, or never employed; period and duration of previous employment.

5. Whereabouts of child when referred, listing: With both own parents; with mother and stepfather; with father and stepmother; with mother only; with father only; in other family home; in institution; or in other place.

6. Status of child's own parents when referred, recording: Own parents living together; mother dead; father dead; both parents dead; parents divorced; parents living apart, not divorced; and other status.

7. Nature and term of commitment, showing number committed for the period of minority or for indeterminate period, and those committed for a definite period.

8. Charge, that is a statement of the type of the offense or nature of the conduct for which the child is committed. The classification of charges as developed by the United States Children's Bureau for use by juvenile courts might well serve as a model. The main headings include: automobile stealing; burglary or unlawful entry; hold-up; other stealing; truancy; running away; ungovernable; sex offense; injury to person; act of carelessness or mischief; traffic violation; and use, possession, or sale of liquor or drugs.

9. Previous care by probation departments, child caring agencies and institutions, showing number who have no previous probation reported and number on probation previous to admission; number never before under care of an agency or institution or on probation; number previously under care of an agency or institution or on probation; and number previously under care of child-placing or child-protective agency, institution for dependent or neglected children, institution for juvenile delinquents, institution for feeble-minded, epileptic, or insane, or other type of institution.

In connection with the statistics showing previous care by probation departments, child-caring agencies, and institutions, the following comment will be of interest:

One of the cardinal principles of the juvenile court is that a delinquent child should not be committed to an institution if it is possible effectively to deal with him in the community through the probation system. Careful study of the child (including psychological and psychiatric examinations) and of the home enables the court to select cases for probation on a more scientific basis than would be possible without such initial investigations, and to determine for certain children without an experimental probational period, what institutional care is required. The statement sometimes made that institutional care should be regarded as a last resort and utilized only after probation has failed is not wholly sound. Nevertheless, a very low percentage—and likewise, perhaps, an extremely high percentage—of children admitted to institutions who have first been on probation suggests the need for careful study of the policies of the courts with reference to probation and institutional care.[1]

Financial administrative statistics.—The following statistics covering certain financial and administrative features of the institution might well be included in any standard statistical system.

1. The plant: the number of buildings of cottage, semi-cottage, congregate, semi-congregate, or pavilion types; the cubic feet of air space of each bed, day, dining, and other spaces, and the number of children using those regularly; the number of single and double beds in each sleeping-room and dormitory and the number of children using each bed and each room and dormitory; the type and number of bathing and toilet facilities, and the total number of children using each.

The information secured regarding the plant and its population will indicate the number of institutions in the state of the cottage, semi-cottage, congregate, semi-congregate, and pavilion types, and the number of children living under each. This will tell how many dependent children are living under conditions approximating normal family life.

The data on the standard capacity of each room, the number and types of beds in place, and the number of children actually using beds and rooms will show both the extent and severity of overcrowding. When we know the number of bathing and toilet fixtures and the number of children using each we can determine the adequacy or inadequacy of such facilities.

2. Administrative staff: The number of full or part-time workers on supervisory staff; the number engaged in institutional adminis-

[1] *Children under Institutional Care, 1923* (United States Bureau of the Census).

trative and clerical duties, housekeeping, productive enterprises, regular parole or case work; and, in institutions that have such, the number on the medical and nursing staff and the teaching force.

It is important to know the total number of people engaged in institutional work since the ratios established of the number of children per employee in the institution as a whole and the number of children per employee in classified services will prove useful when comparing the relative numbers on the staffs of different institutions.

3. Financial statement: While the state agency supervising the individual institution for juvenile delinquents is likely to prescribe the kind of financial statements that are to be rendered, the standard report might contain a table showing receipts and disbursements, the latter subdivided so as to show maintenance expenditures (salaries and wages, provisions, fuel, light, and water); and expenditures for improvements, including new buildings, additions, permanent betterments, and so forth.

Reliable per capita costs of institutions and agencies doing good work could readily be used as a measuring stick and the facts established regarding the cost of the institutional care versus other types of care.

In regard to the question, What statistics regarding institutions for juvenile delinquents should be published in annual reports of state welfare departments? I should like to submit the following: The report should clearly reveal the standing of each institution for juvenile delinquents in relation to others of similar type and the relation of each to the group as a whole. Thus there should be presented selected items in whole numbers for each institution for juvenile delinquents and these same figures also expressed in averages, percentages, ratios, per capitas, etc., so as to make comparisons easy and valid.

It is advisable to present summary figures covering important phases of the work not only for the last year, but for a series of years in order to see this year's picture in its proper perspective.

Textual interpretation of the figures should be made and the significance of selected statistical items pointed out. It would seem to me that the whole report should be so gauged as to make the individual institution eager to obtain it, for purposes of comparison and

self-analysis; and for help in obtaining a broader conception of its work.

The statistical tables suggested above, it is believed, could be fairly easily compiled even by the average institution. The following statistics dealing with mental status, parole outcome, and causative factors in juvenile delinquency would require considerable resources for social research and probably could not be tabulated routinely but would have to be undertaken as special studies.

Mental status.—The services of psychologists and psychiatrists are being utilized to an increasing extent by institutions for juvenile delinquents as the findings of these specialists throw an important light upon the psychological and psychiatric characteristics of the delinquent child.

The psychological findings of those admitted might be classified by mental levels—superior normal, average normal, inferior, borderline feeble-minded, moron, imbecile, and idiot—and tabulations of mental levels might be extended to cover mental levels classified by the delinquency charge.

Regarding the value of statistics which attempt to show the general relation of delinquency to mental life, Dr. Healy's comments will be of interest:

> Scientific study of social behavior is builded four-square upon the fundamental fact that conduct is action of the body and the mind. All conduct, of course, directly emanates from mental life. And many elements and conditionings of mental life are concerned in that product of mental activity which we call social behavior. The only direct means of knowing the forces actually operative in a given case is through study of mental life, the definite directive agent of conduct. This is the realm of a practical psychology, which takes into account mental capacities, mental balance, instincts, impulses, the impress of experiences, and the many elements of conscious and subconscious mental activity.[1]

Parole outcome.—Institutions for juvenile delinquents are constantly being asked, "What proportion of your children make good on parole?" That is a numerical answer that is being sought as to what effect the work of re-education and readjustment has had upon the individual child in helping him to become a law abiding member

[1] William Healy, *The Practical Value of Scientific Study of Juvenile Delinquency* (United States Children's Bureau).

of the community, with an adequate school record, if of school age, or if beyond the school age in having him gainfully employed in a legitimate vocation.

All students who have attempted to answer this question statistically have reached the conclusion that it is extremely difficult to answer because of our differing conceptions as to what constitutes "making good on parole," and whether children whose innate qualities are such that even the best of institutional training apparently can little influence their subsequent outside career and who have not made good on parole should be regarded as failures. We are just now experimenting with devising statistical gauges for measuring parole success or failure. In this connection valuable suggestions for recording statistically parole outcome in juvenile delinquents are contained in *Delinquents and Criminals—Their Making and Unmaking*, by William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner; *Predictability in the Administration of Criminal Justice*, by Sheldon and Eleanor T. Glueck; and *Is Prediction Feasible in Social Work?—An Inquiry Based Upon a Sociological Study of Parole Records*, by Ernest W. Burgess.

Causation factors in juvenile delinquency.—In view of the fact that the delinquent child generally remains in the institution for considerable periods of time and that during this time a great deal of information is being collected regarding the individual child and his social and cultural surroundings or background, it might be desirable to attempt to analyze this information with a view to the light it could throw upon the causes of juvenile delinquency.

It is questionable to what extent the average institution with its limited resources for social research can undertake a thorough analysis of causation; first, because of the amount of labor involved; and second, because we have not yet developed a ready technique for recording the manifold factors which enter into juvenile transgressions.

As one authority points out:

> It is obviously impossible to fix upon any one-word or one-phrase classification of a child's behavior without becoming involved in controversial questions. The only assumption which is made is that children's behavior traits are correlated with a large number of factors either inherent in the child himself or arising in

his environment, and that these correlations may vary in magnitude from zero to significantly high values, either in positive or negative direction.[1]

In spite of the great complexity and diversity of the causes of juvenile delinquency, Dr. K. M. Banham Bridges in his study, "Factors Contributing to Juvenile Delinquency,"[2] points out that cases are found to have many factors in common and that the different combinations of these factors are largely responsible for the differences in transgressions.

He believes it possible that a list of conditioning factors from a study of a large number of cases could be drawn up, and from which could be isolated any group or combination of factors applicable to a particular case. He is of the opinion that such a list would prove to be a diagnostic aid for all workers in the field of juvenile delinquency.

Dr. Bridges suggests an outline comprising the factors which have been found to operate in some thousands of cases studied and reported on by various authorities. These factors are classed under six general headings: Physical factors, Mental factors, Home conditions, School conditions, Neighborhood conditions, and Occupational conditions. The first two groups include all factors dependent upon the bodily and mental condition of the delinquent. These are the product of both heredity and environment. The other four groups consist of environmental factors: unfavorable conditions in the home and the family of the child, unfavorable conditions in the school environment, the neighborhood, and occupational environments.

In conclusion: "What is a practical program to bring about comparable statistics for institutions for juvenile delinquents?" I am quite sanguine that measurable progress is going to be made in the next few years toward the attainment of an effective statistical system covering the whole field of child welfare, even though the data concerning dependent or neglected and delinquent children for the country at large, as the United States Census Bureau points out, are meager, unstandardized, and difficult to assemble.

In my opinion the responsibility for the somewhat unsatisfactory

[1] *Tenth Annual Report of the Criminologist, Herman M. Adler, M.D.* (Illinois Department of Public Welfare).

[2] *Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology*, February, 1927.

state in which we find our institutional statistics today does not rest primarily with the individual institution. It is rather the state department that we should ask to shoulder that responsibility, the more so as it has ample powers and resources to secure adequate statistics and reports.

As the United States Children's Bureau points out:

> State agencies having authority to require reports are in a position to contribute greatly to the movement for obtaining better statistics for institutions for juvenile delinquents and a more adequate evaluation of the work being done. A State agency can obtain a far greater degree of uniformity and accuracy within a State than now exists by advising in the planning of record systems and record forms, devising the best methods for the current entry of statistical material on tally sheets or on cards, assisting in the formulation of definitions and classifications, and checking the accuracy of the statistical returns. Moreover, through exchange of information with agencies of other States and with national agencies, uniformity on a nation-wide scale, in a measure at least, may be obtained.

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VIENNA'S SOCIALISTIC HOUSING EXPERIMENT[1]

VIENNA, like many another European city, sacrificed much of picturesqueness when, long ago and under the pressure of growth in population, she demolished the walls that in medieval times constituted both her boundary and her defense. In compensation she gained not alone increased convenience and ease of intercommunication but also enhanced beauty. She secured the space to develop that fine system of boulevards now famous as the Ringstrasse; and the sale of immediately outlying lands, originally belonging to the fortification system and kept free for reasons of military strategy, provided the city and the state with vast funds for the erection of what came to be perhaps the most imposing array of municipal and state buildings that border any single thoroughfare of the Continent. Thus in pre-war times Vienna enjoyed an enviable place among the cities renowned for their beauty and impressiveness as well as for the quality of their life and their civic spirit.

Not generally known was the fact that this same city presented also the other extreme in the matter of buildings. The structures that sheltered Vienna's workers were as thoroughly inadequate and wretched as her public buildings were magnificent. Reference to a survey made in 1917 discloses the fact that in various working-class districts as many as 90 per cent of the families were then living in one-room apartments, each, in many cases, with but a single window, and this frequently opening into a narrow and dark court or in some instances merely into a hallway. Of the total number of apartments in the city—namely, 554,545—over 73 per cent possessed a floor space of less than 30 square yards, the area often being as small as 17 square yards. Toilet facilities were very generally not private

[1] Of the literature touching on this subject we would recommend the following items: A brochure published by the city of Vienna in 1929 and entitled *Die Wohnungspolitik der Gemeinde Wien;* another on *Der Bundes-Wohn- und Siedlungs-Fonds und seine Bauten: 1918–1928;* the journal, *Die Baugenossenschaft,* published monthly since February, 1928; J. Alexander Mahan's *Vienna Yesterday and Today,* chap. iv. Statistical data, maps, and other informative material on recent housing activities in Vienna are available through the Stadtbauamts Direktion of the city.

but were so arranged as each to serve in common the occupants of a number of apartments; baths were totally lacking—gas and electricity usually so; for playgrounds the children had nothing save the streets. These living quarters obviously failed to meet even the simplest requirements of health and sanitation, let alone comfort and morals. They provided no possibilities for genuine recuperation or joy; no encouragement to the living of a self-respecting and aspiring life or opportunity for the sound upbringing of the younger generation. Yet their rental exacted from the working population of the city a toll of from one-fifth to one-fourth of their total earnings.

The first measures of amelioration came not so much from an awakened social conscience as from the anxiety of employers over the efficiency of their workers. It seems to have been primarily with a view to increasing the working capacity of their employees that various public-service corporations, more especially, undertook, beginning with 1911, to provide the families of their employees with more tolerable housing. The outbreak of the war, however, brought this movement to an end and, indeed, put a stop to building in general except as required for military uses. Thus, whereas 13,128 houses were erected in Vienna during 1913, this number fell to 314 in 1917 and to but 36 in 1918. Moreover, not a few of the existing apartments had in the interim been taken over by the government for the use of newly created bureaus and war agencies; almost all of them had gone without even the most urgently needed repairs. The advent of peace thus found the housing conditions of Vienna in an extremely deplorable state, as respects both their quantity and their quality.

Human energy, however, had been depleted by the war, and the country's financial structure soon became shattered through the inflation of the currency. Hence it seemed impossible at that time to take any action toward improving the housing situation. Indeed, even such persons as were vitally concerned about the living conditions of the masses consoled themselves for a time with the thought that matters would of themselves soon take a turn for the better. Was not Vienna now reduced from the capital of a proud empire of 51,000,000 souls to the center of a small republic with but 6,000,000 inhabitants? And would not her population of almost 2,000,000

speedily decrease? The outcome, however, was not as had been anticipated. Vienna had indeed lost heavily as a result both of casualties in battle and of deaths from starvation. Many men, moreover, were leaving in the desperate hope of finding somewhere the means of livelihood which Vienna could not offer. On the other hand, there poured into the city multitudes of refugees, former government officials and industrial workers from severed parts of the old empire. Moreover, while the men who left were by the force of circumstances compelled to leave their families behind, those who came brought their families with them. The net results were as follows: Between the years 1910 and 1923 there was indeed a decrease of 167,759 in the population of Vienna as a whole; however, there was an increase of persons between the ages of forty and sixty, and the number of families requiring homes grew by more than 40,000.

As a measure of relief, state and municipal laws were passed relaxing the building and housing restrictions and lowering sanitary and other requirements. Special powers were conferred by the republic of Austria upon its municipalities, such as to enable the latter to force into use for dwelling purposes buildings not otherwise available to families. Apartment dwellings might henceforth not be diverted to other uses, and the combination of smaller apartments into larger ones was prohibited. Furthermore, restrictions were placed upon the amount of floor space that might be used by individual families, this amount, of course, varying with the size of the family. To afford further housing relief, credits (amounting from 1918 to 1924 to a total of 700,000 shillings[1]) were voted to convert barracks and other buildings previously belonging to the military establishment into domiciles. In an attempt to stimulate building by private capital, a provision was put in force on October 10, 1921, whereby all new construction for dwelling purposes was made tax exempt for a period of thirty years. Unfortunately, the sharp advances that had come in the costs of building (advances estimated, for the period between 1914 and 1928, at 66⅔ per cent by the Vienna Chamber of Commerce and at as high as 100 per cent by various

[1] The Austrian shilling is today worth a little less than 15 cents. It is impossible, however, to calculate expenditures between 1919 and 1925 in terms of stable currency, as inflation proceeded during that time at a constantly accelerating pace.

leading socialists) and serious difficulties in the way of financing, together with at least a 50 per cent increase in its costs, shut off the possibility of activity on the part of private builders. The latter realized that the rentals possibly obtainable would be very far from sufficient to yield any mentionable return on the investment, even with the lowered building standards and the long period of tax exemption.

In Vienna, as elsewhere throughout Austria, considerable amelioration was obtained through the co-operation of the republic with local communities and with co-operative building associations, especially in the financing of new industrial housing. Even prior to the war—beginning as early as December 22, 1910—Austria had, under stated conditions, guaranteed the payment of second mortgages on new housing construction and had thus materially reduced the costs of financing the latter. During the inflation, however, the original fund that had been appropriated for this purpose was lost, and it soon became apparent that the setting-up of other funds to be used in the same way would be of no avail under the changed conditions. For, the earlier financing rested on the assumption that the rents receivable could maintain the properties and in due course amortize the mortgages. But it was clear that, under the post-war conditions, rents could be kept at a figure which could be paid by the tenants only if the public treasury (whether that of the republic, the province, or the local community) either furnished outright, and wrote off, as much as 90 per cent of the cost of construction, or at any rate paid the interest and the amortization charges on this major part of the original building costs. Hence this very radical measure was decided upon. It was determined that in every case of new construction for dwelling purposes the republic, the province in question, and the local community benefited should each bear one-third of this 90 per cent. Because of the apathy or the financial inability of the local communities, however, the results under this plan were but slight. More relief, on the other hand, was obtained through a different channel. A certain number of garden colonies was promoted. In these colonies the families reduced the costs of building by furnishing a part of the labor; the costs of living were lowered through the cultivation of garden plots. This sort of enterprise was encouraged

by the national government and was financially supported through funds set apart to loan for construction purposes, to guarantee the payment of interest, and in general to aid building associations in the way of credits, as well as in the purchase and acquisition of suitable plots of ground. In some instances as much as 98 per cent of the total costs of land and of buildings was financed through public funds. In consequence, during the period from 1921 to 1928, 8,654 families throughout the republic were provided with homes, at a total cost to the republic of 30,709,000 shillings—a sum raised in part through special appropriations and in part through assessments levied upon employers of members of the families and upon the local communities benefited. As for the city of Vienna, the figures stand at 3,130 families, housed at a total cost to the state of 8,017,000 shillings.

What was accomplished in such ways, however, was but very little in comparison with the needs. Hence it was that the Social Democrats who acquired the political control in Vienna in May, 1919, soon found in the housing conditions of the city the most urgent of the problems confronting them. Here, it seemed, lay the supreme test of their theories and the outstanding challenge to the vision and the constructive capacities of their leaders. It was apparent that novel measures were imperative and that the municipality faced the necessity of engaging on a large scale in the construction and operation of dwellings for its employees and the working classes generally. So in 1921 the city (which is likewise the province) of Vienna began in a small way to experiment with the construction and subsequent leasing and management of apartments and of single dwellings. This experiment proved successful. On September 21, 1923, therefore, the city council passed a resolution providing for the construction of living quarters for 25,000 additional families within a five-year period. As a matter of fact, this program was completed within four years, and, since further relief was urgent, five thousand additional domiciles were decided upon in the spring of 1927. In the fall of the same year this number was further increased by 30,000, with the provision that the entire project be completed by 1932. When this shall have been done, Vienna as a municipality will have constructed the total of 64,000 new domiciles subsequently to 1921—

practically all of these properties being operated by a branch of the city government.

The structures as a whole impress visitors differently according to the standards they have in mind when examining them. Those familiar with the garden city and the superior suburban developments in America and England may perhaps experience a shock of disappointment when they see what has been done in Vienna. Probably, however, this will yield to a feeling of gratified surprise and of genuine admiration once the actual conditions are understood under which Vienna achieved her results. To her, garden-city projects on a large scale were simply out of the question for reasons of cost as well as of dearth in available and possible transportation facilities. Satellite cities, set apart by open spaces and having industries of their own, could not be considered because already existing industrial plants far exceeded the needs of the severely reduced state and its limited opportunities for export trade; neither the financial conditions nor the economic outlook permitted any thought of founding new industries or of transplanting to new localities those already established. As for an extensive residential community within the confines of Vienna, this was impossible for various reasons. The city did not itself own a sufficiently large or a suitable tract of land for the purpose, nor could this be purchased at any price that could be paid; the city lacked the legal powers of condemnation for the acquisition of land for housing purposes; the costs of extensions which would have been necessary to provide water, sewerage, gas, electricity, and transportation would have been prohibitive; new school buildings, fire stations, etc., would have imposed further heavy burdens. Hence the only practicable alternative was to utilize vacant parcels of land in scattered districts of the city that were already fairly well built up. Even so, one of the greatest of all the difficulties confronting the enterprise was in securing adequate and suitable building sites. For in 1919 the city owned but little vacant property, and much of this had been specifically dedicated to use for schools or official buildings. During the war vacant lots had been turned into vegetable gardens, and it was not easy under the existing economic conditions to secure the abandonment of this source of food supply. Moreover, inasmuch as Vienna was without adequate powers of con-

demnation for purposes of building homes, the owners of vacant and suitable ground areas were inclined to demand exorbitant, and in many cases even prohibitive, prices for their property. But these obstacles were surmounted. Lots were secured convenient to industries or transportation, in some instances close to public markets and baths, and in localities already served with the requisite public facilities. On these lots the city, through its own constituted bureaus, constructed apartment buildings or groups of buildings. Those thus far in use house families ranging in number, as it happens, from 16 as the smallest to 1,600 as the largest.

In most instances these apartment houses impress a visitor as distinctly successful achievements if account is taken of the fact that they were designed with a consideration to the needs and the financial power alike of the tenants and of the city. Art, the officials of Vienna's housing venture declared, "is not a luxury but is a necessity for a forward-striving people." The streets on which the apartments front are, wherever it may be, made to yield the impression of a residential area through the development of parkways and the planting of shrubbery and flowers. As much as 50 per cent of the ground area of the building tracts is left free. Skilful use is made of courtyards, not merely so as to afford direct lighting to all the rooms but also to provide tasteful gardens, places for settees facing or surrounding fountains, and playgrounds for the children. The ledges of the apartment buildings almost invariably support flower boxes; and these, at the time of the present writer's visit, were filled with plants procured through a municipal bureau at a low cost. The buildings have no elevators, but the stairways are wide and well lighted, and are so arranged as in each case to afford direct access to the apartments. At most, four apartments on any one floor open from a single stairway. All stairways are of concrete and iron construction. The walls and partitions of the buildings are of brick and stucco, and the kitchen floors are tile, so that the buildings may be considered to be practically fireproof. Gauged by Western standards, the floor area of the apartments is indeed small. Prior to 1927, 75 per cent of the apartments comprised but 41 square yards, and the rest but 51 square yards. Subsequently, four types were developed, having the sizes of $43\frac{1}{3}$, 53, 62, and (for use by single individuals) 23 square

yards. Severely limited as is the space, it should be remembered that in many buildings, especially the larger ones, there are numerous common rooms and areas, such as baths, terraces, and laundries, together with some or all of such advantages as children's rooms, kindergarten, branches of municipal library, gymnasiums, health centers, lecture-rooms, etc. All apartments possess toilet facilities, running water, gas, and electricity. In some cases there is a central kitchen and provision for the care of the rooms, thus enabling both the man and his wife to engage in outside employment. Whenever the buildings house as many as four hundred families, they include well equipped central laundries, with duplex copper boilers, electrically driven wringing-machines, basins of hot and cold water, drying apparatus, and electrically driven mangles—an equipment that enables a housewife to complete a large washing, dried and ironed, within four hours. In smaller houses, where such elaborate equipment would be unprofitable, there are laundries and drying lofts of the ordinary type. To avoid ugly smokestacks and the smoke nuisance, the hot water needed throughout the building is secured through the use of electricity supplied from the municipal plant during the night period when the plant would otherwise not be used to capacity. While some apartment houses are without bathrooms, the larger ones are provided with both shower and tub baths and the others are often located in proximity to public baths.

Thus Vienna's solution of its housing difficulties was found mainly in municipally constructed and operated apartment buildings. Yet he who skirts the fringes of the city will discover a number of large communities of individual houses, both in rows and detached or semi-detached, each with flower and vegetable gardens, and all characterized by an attractive simplicity and a neatness that strike one's attention even in the case of the apartments in the largest buildings in the city. Three such garden communities, providing for a total of 265 families, were constructed directly by the city, in accordance with designs by municipal architects and entirely with city funds. In addition, Vienna assisted various co-operative housing associations. It turned over to them as much as 1,083,000 square yards of land. More than this, up to the end of 1926 it advanced to them 28,000,000 shillings of money, this representing 85 per cent

of the total cost of the houses which they built for their members. In more recent years the city has assumed the entire cost of such construction. To be sure, it enters upon its books a charge amounting to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent annually on a very low valuation of the land and on the sums advanced for building purposes. As a matter of fact, however, it has collected only rentals, and, since these were not advanced beyond those exacted within the city proper under very rigid rent laws, the income received has been adequate to cover only the costs of maintenance and operation, for the rentals have been extremely low. In accordance with a law regulating rentals, all rented properties, after the close of the war, were appraised at their pre-war value. Of this amount 5 per cent was allowed as the annual rental. This rental, however, was made payable in paper currency. The value of the latter being but slight in comparison with gold, the landlords received but an insignificant fraction of the income that accrued to them prior to the war.

The justification of these very severe regulations affecting rentals was found in the fact that landlords were thus placed on the same basis as were the holders of government securities or of bonds and mortgages generally. Confiscatory as they might seem to be, they appeared to be an economic, if not indeed a broadly social, necessity, required for the maintenance of the industrial life of the country and the sustenance of its people, for post-war Vienna became dependent almost entirely upon its industries. Full 70 per cent of their products, however, had to be marketed in foreign countries. Much of their raw material, on the other hand—save only iron and wood—and a great deal of their coal had to be imported. They were so situated, furthermore, as to be handicapped by relatively high freight rates. Ready capital was all but lacking, and interest rates had, under the unusual conditions, mounted to unprecedented figures. The maintenance of foreign trade was of urgent importance not only to factory workers but to the country at large, for the latter, as carved by the peace treaty, had to purchase from abroad a considerable part of its food supply. Now, in foreign markets, Viennese factories found themselves in competition with industries often better equipped, operating in lands with cheaper credits, larger natural resources, and extensive home markets protected by high-

tariff barriers. What has just been said makes it obvious that it is in the item of wages alone that the industries of Vienna might discover that competitive advantage which would enable them to continue in operation in the face of foreign competition. Yet pre-war wages in Austria had never risen beyond the level of living necessities. How reduce the costs of the latter? No reduction was possible for such expenditures as food, clothing, or incidentals. The only decrease that could be made without impairing the health and efficiency of the worker was in the item of rentals. If, therefore, the factories were to operate and their workers kept in employment, export trade had to be maintained; unless this were done, moreover, it would be difficult to finance even the purchase of such food as needed to be imported. Hence the interests of all, and not alone of the industrial workers, dictated rigid rent laws whereby the 20–25 per cent of the pre-war budget represented by rent was so reduced that landlords were practically deprived of their income and that the costs to tenants, including rents and charges for repair and upkeep, amounted to but about 2 per cent of their wages.

The foregoing explains in part the object of the rent laws. But more than this was in contemplation. By affording relief in the matter of rents, the municipality was enabled to impose a heavy tax upon tenants, and by this means to acquire an immense sum of money to be used for purposes of building. This building tax represented on the average about one-eighth of the pre-war rental. It was, however, levied on a sliding-scale basis, so that the half-million cheapest apartments, representing 82 per cent of the total number taxed, contributed but 22 per cent of the total taxes, whereas the 3,400 most expensive apartments, representing but ½ per cent of the whole number, were compelled to furnish 45 per cent of the total housing taxes levied upon tenants. In epitome: Vienna landlords of earlier years were practically deprived of all income from their properties, though provision was made for assessments to cover necessary repairs; they received in return nothing save a realization that, even if the rent laws were at some time to be repealed, their properties would confront the competition of an immense number of new and municipally constructed buildings, whose costs were defrayed through taxes that had been collected and upon which no interest returns were sought. Tenants, on the other hand, paid in

rentals plus building taxes but a small fraction of their pre-war outlay for rent alone. The city acquired a large fund, which it used for the construction of domiciles.

The housing taxes just alluded to were levied upon all tenants, including the occupants of the new buildings constructed by means of them. Moreover, the city acquired additional funds for construction purposes through other forms of taxation affecting primarily hotels, restaurants, beer gardens, and places of entertainment, as well as automobiles and certain luxuries. Since the construction was thus financed without the issuance of bonds or other evidences of indebtedness, its costs could at once be written off on the books of the city and the rentals could be kept at a figure providing merely maintenance and costs of repair, together, at the outset, with a small addition placed in a reserve fund for later repairs with the thought of thus equalizing the burdens as between the first tenants and those who came later when the buildings would be older and would require heavier outlays.

Typical of the rentals in the garden communities would be those in the Siedlung Freihof. This comprises eight hundred houses built by one of the larger co-operatives on land furnished by the city and with funds derived from the municipal treasury. Each member of the co-operative is entitled to the use of a house and the adjoining garden. He at present pays a membership fee amounting in our currency to $1.70 per month. Representative of the rentals of a very fair apartment would be those of an attractive house built in 1926 and visited by the present writer this past summer. Here the tenants were provided with gas ranges and built-in cupboards, and had the use of water, electricity, and gas; access to the laundry "went with the key," that is, was without charge. The rental charges were as follows: For an apartment comprising a "living kitchen" (that is, a combined kitchen, dining and living room), a bedroom, an anteroom, and a toilet the tenant paid $1.43 per month for the rental plus the water charges; for a larger apartment, containing in addition to the foregoing a balcony and a small room adjoining the bedroom, he paid 50 cents more. In addition, each tenant paid to the city a building tax and to the family in charge of the building from 15 to 20 cents per month (depending upon the size of the apartment) in payment for the cleaning of the entrances and public

halls and rooms. In another building visited by the writer the total costs to tenants for a living kitchen, bedroom, anteroom, and toilet, together with a balcony, was $1.91 per month, this sum representing $1.50 for rent and water, 25 cents for the caretaker, and 16 cents taxes to the city for the municipal building fund. Speaking generally, the bare rentals range from about 1½ cents per square yard of floor space to a maximum of about 4 cents, this latter being in the case of one apartment which includes a bath and accommodations for a servant. The rental depends primarily upon location, including distance from transportation, and upon the equipment of the apartment and that of the building of which it is a part.

The buildings are in charge of caretakers who are given free rent in one of their apartments, free medical treatment, a sum from the city for the care of the courtyards, and the above-mentioned fees from the tenants. All rentals are collected by the caretakers and remitted by them to a special bureau in the city hall. Since January 1, 1929, they receive as compensation for this obligation 1 per cent of the rents collected and also 30 cents per month toward their electric-light bill.

Most amazing is the way in which the city of Vienna thus made good through municipal activity what private capital was under the conditions unable to accomplish. Without resorting to loans or making any drafts upon the future it transplanted its workers from congested and unsanitary quarters into livable and even attractive quarters. As the older buildings demand replacement, additional construction will be imperative, and so long as the economic conditions demand that wages be kept to low levels in order to keep industry active, this task will continue to fall upon the city. This leads the Social Democrats to the conclusion that the construction of healthful and satisfactory homes for the wide masses of Vienna will remain a permanent task for the municipality. Not unnaturally, however, the rent laws and the building program have become the storm center of municipal politics. With every city election they are in the forefront of interest and capture the headlines of the papers. Recent upheavals in the general political situation may very well require the addition of quite a different story as the sequel to the foregoing.

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THE INFLUENCE OF OLD AGE PENSIONS ON PUBLIC POOR RELIEF IN ENGLAND AND WALES

A COMBINATION of circumstances in the nineteenth century led in 1908 to the establishment of old age pensions in England and thus set before the world a plan for the protection of the aged that is being increasingly debated in the United States. It thus seems worth while to reconsider briefly what those circumstances were and to answer, on the basis of England's experience, one of the questions that is raised in most of the debates: To what extent do such pensions reduce the demand for public poor relief?

The great growth of industries and cities which characterized the nineteenth century would probably itself have necessitated some change in the method of caring for the aged poor. Industry, which in the United States is beginning to find men of forty too old to hire, probably even by the middle of the nineteenth century was discarding workers as old who would have been considered productive under another system. Industry induced more and more people to live in cities, where the old had perhaps fewer opportunities for supporting themselves by the little tasks which village life afforded. Urbanization meant the break-up of the large family: less room in the crowded city home for grandparents and elderly aunts.

But in addition to this there was the policy of the new Poor Law. The various excesses of the eighteenth century had resulted in such high rates of taxation and such extreme pauperization that the Poor Law Commission of 1834 radically altered Poor Law policy. The commission itself had little objection to the prevailing mode of dealing with the aged, which consisted largely in giving them relief in their own homes, and merely suggested that when indoor relief was given, the institutions should be separated from the general workhouse. But so excessive had been the granting of outdoor relief in general, and so open to fraud, that the Poor Law commissioners, who dictated the policy from 1834 to 1847, and their suc-

cessors the Poor Law Board (1847–71) became very severe in the use of the workhouse test and began to apply it even to the aged. If a man asked for relief he was offered "the house"; and in order that he would not too eagerly accept it in preference to work the institutions were made very uncomfortable and entering them a distinct disgrace. By thus punishing pauperism they hoped to rid the country of it. The Poor Law was to be the refuge solely of those who were completely destitute. No discrimination was to be made on the basis of character or thrift. Just enough was to be given to maintain life, and that uncomfortably.

Between 1834 and 1871 the policy toward the aged was not quite so severe as toward others applying for relief. While sanctioning the indiscriminate use of workhouses, it did permit a certain amount of the general outdoor relief which had been the customary mode of relieving aged paupers before 1834. But between 1871 and 1890 the workhouse test was applied quite generally even to the old, on the theory that young people would thus be led to save money for their old age, that relatives would offer support rather than be disgraced by having their old people in the workhouses, and that voluntary charity would be aroused.[1] After 1890 the policy was somewhat softened, and discrimination on the basis of past character was permitted, the Local Government Board going so far in 1896 as to instruct the Boards of Guardians of the Poor to make known to the aged the advantages which the Poor Law could offer them.[2]

By these rigorous measures pauperism, as measured by the number of persons accepting relief under these harsh conditions, was reduced materially. In 1849 the mean number of paupers, including lunatics and vagrants, was 62.7 per thousand population. By 1899 it had dropped to 26.2. The change took place almost entirely in out-relief, the numbers relieved indoors remaining quite steadily around six to seven per thousand population from 1857 to the present time.[3]

[1] *Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission*, 1905–9, p. 314.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 335.

[3] The effect of this fifty-year policy of strictness is seen in the following table. The "non-able-bodied," of course, include some persons who are not "aged," but it is probable that the number of aged bears some rather constant ratio to that total. It will be

With such policies of poor relief put into effect at a time when industrial expansion was probably making the lot of the aged increasingly difficult, it is not surprising that the question of old age-poverty became a vital political question by the middle of the nineteenth century. Several attempts at solving that question were made, however, before a universal old-age-pension plan was seriously considered.

As the century advanced several working-class movements which had as their object the protection of the workers from the hazards of unemployment, ill-health, and old age grew rapidly. One of these was the Friendly Societies. Appearing in the eighteenth century as small voluntary associations of workingmen who paid in premiums and drew out benefits with little regard to actuarial principles, these associations increased rapidly after 1850 and developed into various types. There were the simplest, oldest kinds, known as dividing societies, which, by their periodic distribution of surplus, acted as savings banks as well as insurance associations. These were small, local affairs—often ephemeral—having the advantages and disadvantages which would be expected to come from such organizations. Much like them were the local village and county societies, and those found in small towns. Some were of working-class origin, and others existed under the patronage of local clergymen or the gentility. Of this latter type were the county clubs,

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noticed, that, as would be expected from the foregoing discussion, the non-able-bodied did not decrease as greatly as the able-bodied.

NUMBER OF PERSONS PER 10,000 POPULATION IN RECEIPT OF PUBLIC POOR RELIEF ON JANUARY 1—ENGLAND AND WALES

	Non-able-bodied	Able-bodied
1849	495	132
1860	362	67
1870	386	79
1874	290	48
1880	246	39
1885	275	31
1890	245	35
1895	222	41
1898	221	35

which took in members from much larger areas, were definitely under the control of the group in the county which administered the local government, and were founded often with the definite object of relieving the class dependent on the local rates and the hope that they would eventually supersede the Poor Law.[1] By the fact that the wealthier members of the community became honorary supporting members, these county clubs were able to offer much lower rates of payments, and they thus became accessible to the class of laborer earning as little as ten shillings a week. These county societies gradually absorbed most of the local clubs.

Another type of society was that maintained by employers for their employees. The railways had particularly well-developed societies of this type. In contrast, there were the large workingmen's orders, often imitations of freemasonry, which grew rapidly in size and importance as the century advanced. By 1874 it was calculated that they had something over a million members.[2] As a means of relieving actual pauperism it is unlikely that either of these latter types was effective, for their members were largely the pick of the working class, the contributions being usually beyond the means of the daily wage-earner or the agricultural laborer.

It is evident that the government early saw in these organizations a hope of relief for the Poor Law, for the preamble of the first act concerning them (1793) declares that it was passed "in order to promote the happiness of individuals and at the same time to diminish the public burthen."[3] In 1874 the Friendly Societies Commission put forth the same inducement as a plea for support. "It is clear," say they, "that any improvement in the stability of these societies, or encouragement of people to join them, would not only benefit the working classes by leading them to help themselves instead of depending on others, but might tend to alleviate in no slight degree the pressure of local taxation now so generally complained of."[4]

[1] J. M. Baernreither, *English Associations of Working Men* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1893), p. 186. His material on Friendly Societies is taken largely from the "Fourth Report of the Commission to Inquire into Friendly and Building Societies," Part I, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1874.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 221. [3] 33 George III, c. 54.

[4] "Fourth Report of the Commission to Inquire into Friendly and Building Societies," *Parliamentary Papers*, 1874, p. clxxxix.

This was just the time, it will be remembered, when the Poor Law commissioners were being most strict in regard to granting outrelief to the aged as well as to the able-bodied. The Friendly Societies seemed to supply a substitute more pleasant to the rate-payer and not degrading to the recipient. Nor did the hope that the Friendly Societies would supplant the Poor Law seem unjustified, for in 1874 it was estimated that the Societies had about 4,000,000 members besides at least as many other persons interested in benefits, and that they were saving the rate-payers at least £2,000,000 a year.[1]

On the other hand, it became evident that there were large numbers of working population that could not afford to join a Friendly Society, or, at most, could join only those small societies which were least solvent. And these were largely the people who in their old age would stand most in need of financial assistance. To leave them to the Poor Law would defeat the new policy of the poor commissioners; to hope that they would provide for their own insurance had proved useless. It is not surprising then to see the government entering the insurance field and offering annuities of its own.[2] There was nothing compulsory about these annuities; they were merely bought at the post office by anyone who wished to have them; but it was hoped that their low rates and financial stability would attract the poorest group of workers.

None of these movements grew so directly out of another as the foregoing discussion would suggest. It seems rather that the change of policy or relative failure of one scheme served to encourage another that was already started. The Friendly Societies, for instance, had been in existence many years before the new Poor Law with its harsh policy toward outdoor relief was enacted. Just so, government annuities had been talked of long before the Friendly Societies grew so powerful. And, running parallel with all these movements, was that of the trade unions. Although primarily concerned with working conditions, they must also be included among the agencies interested in old age poverty, for a considerable proportion of their

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Government insurance was established in 1833 by the act, 304 William IV, c. 14, and further developed under acts in 1864 and 1882.

benefits went each year to their members incapacitated for work by old age.

The origin of the old-age-pension movement may thus be laid in part both to the success and to the failure of these other movements, especially that of the Friendly Societies. Insofar as they succeeded, they demonstrated a means by which pauperism could be relieved other than through the rates. In their failure to reduce greatly the burden on the rates they showed that insurance to be really effective must be universal. The new Poor Law had accomplished its purpose and had made pauperism a distinct disgrace. In spite of the efforts of the Friendly Societies, trade unions, and government insurance there were still many old people who became paupers through what the community had to recognize was no fault of their own. In the combination of these circumstances lies at least a partial explanation of the whole social insurance movement.

The earliest scheme for national compulsory insurance for the protection of old age seems to have been that which Canon William Blackley set forth about 1878. He proposed that every person should be required, between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one, to contribute ten pounds toward a fund which would give him eight shillings a week when he was sick and four shillings a week after he was seventy years old. The contributions were to be deducted from the wages of the working class and collected from all others by the usual method of taxation. This system, once established, he held would gradually supersede the Poor Law, which he denounced as unjust to the rate-payer and demoralizing to the poor. By writing and speeches and through the formation of the National Providence League he secured such interest in his scheme that a select committee of the House of Commons was appointed in 1885 to inquire into the best system of national provident insurance against pauperism. Blackley and the Reverend Mr. John Stratton, who had a voluntary but national scheme of his own, were the chief witnesses in favor of universal insurance, while the Friendly Societies defended the thesis that compulsory governmental insurance would sap the independence of the English working man and destroy the Friendly

Societies.[1] For the time being, the argument of the Friendly Societies won.

After the unfavorable report of the 1885 committee, Blackley dropped the health insurance part of his scheme, for it was that which had brought the severest attacks from the Friendly Societies, health insurance being considered the most profitable part of their business. Several other plans for old age pensions were then proposed. Among them were those of Joseph Chamberlain and of Charles Booth, rival schemes around which most of the agitation of the following twenty years centered. The plans were those of an idealist and a realist—a social reformer and a politician. Booth proposed that the government should give every person, rich or poor, a pension of five shillings a week when he became sixty-five. There were to be no contributions: thus the opposition of the thrift societies would be removed. There was to be no discrimination on the basis of need or character: this would relieve the pensioner of the stigma of pauperism.

Chamberlain considered this scheme out of the range of practical politics. His proposal was for a voluntary, contributory system, supplemented by grants from Parliament and from the local rates in order that the contributions might be within the reach of any person and that the pensions might be large. He sought the support of the Friendly Societies by having a certain amount of this insurance carried on through their organizations. Blackley recognized that Parliament objected to the compulsion of his scheme and that the co-operation of the Friendly Societies was necessary, so about 1892 he joined in the support of Chamberlain's measure.

Regardless, however, of the difference in these various plans, their basis and their object was the same. Old age was definitely shown to be a time of widespread distress. Booth calculated that not less than two out of three of the working class receiving low wages (a group which constituted about 40 per cent of the population) received poor relief at some time or other in their old age,[2]

[1] See "Report of the Committee on the Best System of National Provident Insurance against Pauperism, 1885–87," *Parliamentary Papers*, 1887, XI.

[2] "Report of the Royal Commission on the Aged, Deserving Poor," *Parliamentary Papers*, 1895, XV, 578.

while Chamberlain claimed that half of the working class finished their lives as paupers.[1] A return made by the Local Government Board in 1892 showed that 20 per cent of the total population over sixty-five was receiving poor relief.[2]

By old age pensions of one kind or another the supporters of the various schemes saw a means of relieving, if not actually abolishing, outdoor poor relief. For instance, Booth wrote, "With the establishment of old age pensions, whatever the age limit or conditions imposed, pensions must largely supersede out-relief, and with the assistance of thrift organizations and charitable effort, the entire abolition of out-relief for the aged comes within reach."[3] And in another connection he said, "It is an integral part of my plan that, concurrently with the establishment of pensions in old age, out-relief under the Poor Law should be abolished, except, perhaps, for a limited period in widowhood or other cases of sudden calamity."[4]

Chamberlain too held forth as an incentive for pensions the fact that removing the aged from the Poor Law would permit of stricter administration in regard to others. "I believe," he said, "that the number of persons with pensions of five shillings a week who would, under any circumstances, come upon the Guardians is infinitesimal."[5]

So the movement for pensions grew, and during the nineties several parliamentary committees and commissions[6] considered the merits of the various plans. The Royal Commission of 1893–95 and a Committee of the Treasury, which met in 1896, heard much evidence but came to the conclusion that the thrift of the lower classes was increasing and that pensions in old age would discourage this. This defeat roused the proponents of pensions to greater activity. Committees of laboring men were organized all over the

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 658.

[2] "Report of the Local Government Board," *Parliamentary Papers*, 1892, LXVIII.

[3] Charles Booth, *Poor Law Reform* (Macmillan, 1910), p. 25.

[4] F. H. Stead, *How Old Age Pensions Began To Be* (London: Methuen & Co.), p. 60.

[5] "Report of the Royal Commission on the Aged Poor," *Parliamentary Papers*, 1895, XV, p. 672.

[6] *Ibid.;* see also "Report of the Treasury Committee," 1898; and "Report of Committee on Aged, Deserving Poor," 1899.

country. Chamberlain reopened discussion in Parliament and gave up the contributory feature of his scheme. The result was that a parliamentary committee, appointed in 1899 to "consider the best means of improving the condition of the aged, deserving poor," reported a plan of its own for non-contributory pensions for the needy, deserving poor of over sixty-five years of age. They found that many deserving persons were forced to the workhouse or received inadequate outdoor relief (from 2/6 to 3/ a week was the rule) and that many others were kept off the rates only through the efforts of their friends or private charity or by enduring extreme privation.

In the light of later experience one comment of this committee is of special interest. They concluded "that the needs of many of the aged and deserving poor will not be met by any scheme of old age pensions only and that some provision for them should be made by the reform of the Poor Law administration; in other words, by improved poor relief as well as by old age pensions."[1]

By this time the demand for some sort of pensions was so great that no political party could afford to oppose it openly. The Boer War, however, served as an excuse for delaying action, but by 1906 pensions were so much to the fore again that in March, two months before a general election, the House of Commons unanimously agreed to a resolution "that a measure is urgently needed in order that out of the funds provided by taxation provision can be made for the payment of pensions to all the aged subjects of His Majesty in the United Kingdom."

In 1908 the first act was passed. Under it persons who were seventy or more years of age, were British subjects, and had incomes of less than £31.10 a year were to receive pensions varying from five shillings a week for those with incomes of £21 and under to one shilling for those with the maximum income. Persons receiving poor relief, those "habitually failing to work according to their ability, opportunity, or need for maintenance or benefit of themselves or those legally dependent upon them," those in lunatic asylums, and those in prisons were to be disqualified from receiving pensions.

[1] "Report of the Committee on the Aged, Deserving Poor," *Parliamentary Papers*, 1899, VIII, v.

The pauper disqualification is of particular interest for this study. The Act of 1908, which came into force January 1, 1909, stated that old age pensions should not be given to persons in receipt of poor relief, nor should they be given until December 31, 1910, to any person who received poor relief between January 1, 1908, and that date. This latter qualification seems to be at variance with the theory of old age pensions, for the claim had always been made that a pension scheme would do away, to a very large extent at least, with poor relief. Lloyd-George and Asquith defended it, however, as necessary from a financial point of view,[1] claiming that including the paupers would add several million pounds to the cost of the scheme.

After 1910 pensions could be given to former paupers so long as they did not receive poor relief at the same time. This was a marked change from the bill submitted in 1899 by Chaplain's committee, according to which receipt of any poor relief during the past twenty years disqualified a person for a pension. Both, however, were aimed at relieving the Poor Law: the latter indirectly by providing an incentive for people not to ask for aid during late middle life; the former directly by caring for nearly all the aged, providing only that they did not ask for additional relief.

At the time of the passage of the 1908 act the relationship between the old age pensions and the Poor Law was not as clearly recognized as the preceding analysis might indicate. Starting, as has been shown, as a definite movement for caring for the aged outside the Poor Law and of thus relieving the rates, old age pensions had become so linked with politics that few dared suggest that there was anything of the disgrace-bearing Poor Law about them. The Opposition, it is true, sometimes used the obvious fact of the relationship as a slur on the whole system, as when Earl Percy declared, "The Government is really proposing another form of poor relief."[2] That this was so was recognized most clearly by Haldane, then secretary of state for war, who in a brilliant speech set forth the argument that the proposed pensions were but a part of a large scheme for the reform of the Poor Law.[3] Lloyd-George was even

[1] Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates* (1908), CXC, 582, 830.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 775.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 660–70.

more explicit as to the government's aim. He said that he was putting forward only an incomplete scheme; that sickness, infirmity, unemployment are "problems with which it is the business of the State to deal; they are problems the State has neglected too long. . . . . We are anxious to utilize the resources of the State to make provision for undeserved poverty in all its branches."[1]

By the Act of 1908 the aged poor were forcibly removed from the Poor Law after 1910 by forbidding the receipt of a pension and poor relief at the same time. This must have caused special hardship when the cost of living was rising during the war, and the Act of 1919, in effect January 2, 1920, made important changes in the system. Both the financial level at which pensions could be granted and the amount of the pensions were raised. The citizenship qualification was reduced from twenty to ten years a British subject. The disqualifications for habitually failing to work and for having been in prison were removed. And, most important in its bearing on this study, instead of the wide pauper disqualification, only those were disqualified who were in workhouses or other Poor Law institutions (that is, receiving indoor relief) and even these could receive their pensions for three months concurrently with relief if they were in the institutions for medical or surgical treatment only.

Thus the system as it is in force now gives pensions almost universally to persons over seventy years of age whose incomes are £49.17.6 or less. For those whose incomes are £26.5 or under, the pension is ten shillings a week. In addition, there are, since January, 1928, contributory pensions for those between sixty-five and seventy years of age. The early proponents of pensions would probably have thought that such a system would nearly eliminate outdoor poor relief, especially relief to the aged. It is the purpose of this paper to show what has actually happened.

It is impossible to make an accurate study of the effect of the old age pension acts on the number of old persons given poor relief because, among other reasons, statistics of such persons are available for only a few of the pre-pension-act years. Starting with 1910

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 585.

the number of persons over seventy years of age given relief on January 1 is published in the Ministry of Health's annual "Persons in Receipt of Poor Law Relief," but before that time there are only scattered figures available: for August, 1890; for January, 1892; and March, 1906;[1] and these are not strictly comparable.

A longer series, one which must contain a large proportion of persons over seventy years of age, is that of the "non-able-bodied." This classification of able- and non-able-bodied was discontinued, however, in 1912, and a more exact classification substituted. Among the categories of the new classification, is that of men relieved because of "bodily or mental infirmity," a category which, at the time the classification was changed, was described as corresponding closely to that of the former "non-able-bodied men."[2]

As to the proportion of men seventy or more years of age in this non-able-bodied group (or that of men relieved "because of bodily or mental infirmity") only a rough estimate can be made. Table I gives the available figures.

On January 1, 1909, the Old Age Pension Act first came into effect, and by January 1, 1911, most of the paupers over seventy became eligible for its benefits and were taken off the Boards of Guardians' lists. As the number of non-able-bodied men relieved outdoors decreased in each of these years by just about the same amount as did the number of men over seventy it seems fair to assume that the category "non-able-bodied" included most of the latter group, and, hence, that about half of the "non-able-bodied" were over seventy years of age.

In the case of indoor relief the relationship is not quite so clear cut, for, although the number of men over seventy decreased slightly after 1910, the total number of non-able-bodied increased. Neither change was striking, however, and it may perhaps be assumed that those over seventy were always, as between 1906 and 1912, about a third as numerous as the total non-able-bodied relieved indoors.

[1] "Report of the Local Government Board on Persons in Receipt of Poor Law Relief," *Parliamentary Papers*, 1890–91, LXVIII; 1892, LXVIII; 1911, XXXI.

[2] In the case of women, those relieved on account of sickness are included in category of bodily and mentally infirm, so that the series of non-able-bodied can be followed through only in the case of men.

If it may be assumed then that some such constant ratio existed between the number of persons over seventy and the total non-able-bodied, the following table will show what happened in regard to the relief of the old from 1849 down to the time of the Old Age Pension Act.

Although the figures before 1880 show great gaps, the general trend is clear, and the effect of changing policy is most marked.

TABLE I

NON-ABLE-BODIED MEN IN RECEIPT OF POOR LAW RELIEF ON JANUARY 1 COMPARED FOR CERTAIN YEARS WITH THE NUMBER OVER SEVENTY YEARS OF AGE

YEAR	RELIEVED INDOORS			RELIEVED OUTDOORS		
	Total	Per 10,000 adult men	Over 70	Total	Per 10,000 adult men	Over 70
1896	71,244	73	.....	84,827	87	.....
1897	72,341	73	.....	86,314	87	.....
1898	73,133	73	.....	86,036	86	.....
1899	73,370	72	.....	84,419	83	.....
1900	74,267	72	.....	82,497	80	.....
1901	73,073	69	.....	78,933	75	.....
1902	78,344	74	.....	80,112	75	.....
1903	80,947	75	.....	81,497	75	.....
1904	83,887	76	.....	83,018	76	.....
1905	87,244	79	.....	87,283	79	.....
1906	90,031	80	35,600	88,795	79	45,000
1907	93,545	82	not stated	90,007	79	not stated
1908	95,186	82	not stated	86,824	75	not stated
1909	97,310	83	not stated	80,723	68	40,999
1910	97,921	83	33,473	67,936	57	26,082
1911	98,546	83	32,302	46,608	40	3,466
1912	not stated	.....	28,504	43,266	36	3,320
1913	not stated	.....	.....	40,842	33	3,627

As has been described in the earlier part of this paper, the 1834–71 policy was strict but retained to some extent the use of outdoor relief for aiding the aged. The years 1871–90 marked a period of rigorous use of the workhouse test—and a sharp decline in poor relief—while after that time the policy became again slightly more lenient. The period 1900–10 showed less change than did any previous decade, and it thus supplies an excellent base period against which to measure the effect of the Old Age Pension Act.

Looked at in relation to this sixty-year history of relief of the non-able-bodied, the drop that took place in 1911, when the pension

act first came into full effect, was not great; but that it was almost entirely due to the act there can be no doubt. As Table I shows, outdoor relief to persons of pension age was almost abolished, but in indoor relief there was comparatively little change, so that the net effect on the relief to the non-able-bodied was a decrease of about one-fourth.

TABLE II

APPROXIMATE NUMBER OF NON-ABLE-BODIED PERSONS PER 10,000 POPULATION IN RECEIPT OF INDOOR AND OUTDOOR RELIEF ON JANUARY 1, 1849–1911

YEAR	Approximate Number per 10,000 Population	Year	Approximate Number per 10,000 Population
1849	496	1894	206
1860	362	1895	221
1870	387	1896	209
1874	290	1897	209
1877	247	1898	203
1880	275	1899	198
1881	279	1900	188
1882	242	1901	187
1883	238	1902	187
1884	232	1903	188
1885	235	1904	192
1886	240	1905	198
1887	238	1906	196
1888	238	1907	199
1889	232	1908	197
1890	222	1909	201
1891	212	1910	198
1892	208	1911	152
1893	202		

It is impossible to continue this series after 1911 for the reasons which have already been stated: after that date no separate figures for women are available, and for men there are only the number of those relieved outdoors. From Table I it can be seen that there was a general tendency for indoor relief to increase and for outdoor to decrease. The latter series can be followed through to the present time, where, under the influence of bad economic conditions and changing policy, it has reached a point just about as high as that of 1911. It is more useful here, however, to examine the figures for persons of pension age rather than these composite figures which were the only ones available before 1910.

Table I showed for 1896 to 1912 the number of men granted poor relief because they were non-able-bodied, with some suggestion as to the proportion of them who were of pension age. The following table carries on this latter series and shows the number of both men and women over seventy years old in receipt of Poor Law aid

TABLE III

NUMBER OF PERSONS OVER SEVENTY IN RECEIPT OF POOR LAW RELIEF ON JANUARY 1, 1906–28

YEAR	INDOOR			OUTDOOR		
	Men	Women	Total per 1,000 Persons over 70	Men	Women	Total per 1,000 Persons over 70
1906*.....	35,600	25,800	68	45,000	126,000	187
1910.....	33,473	24,248	60	40,999	97,224	145
1911.....	32,402	22,860	51	26,082	67,065	87
1912.....	28,504	20,834	45	3,466	6,064	8
1913.....	28,387	20,820	45	3,320	5,243	8
1914.....	27,920	20,183	43	3,627	5,318	7
1915.....	27,482	20,183	42	3,598	4,858	7
1916.....	26,305	19,442	40	3,620	5,172	7
1917.....	24,545	18,911	37	3,421	5,058	7
1918.....	21,477	17,652	33	3,063	4,561	6
1919.....	19,536	16,763	30	2,809	4,141	6
1920.....	20,568	17,657	31	3,263	5,358	7
1921.....	21,837	17,657	31	4,554	7,200	9
1922.....	22,632	20,060	32	8,234	13,044	16
1923.....	23,079	19,993	31	11,617	17,931	21
1924.....	23,465	20,315	31	14,404	22,220	26
1925.....	23,358	21,017	31	18,123	26,941	32
1926.....	24,023	21,595	31	22,835	32,997	38
1927.....	24,564	22,052	31	26,781	38,702	45
1928.....	24,208	22,084	31	29,180	40,741	47

* These figures are approximate, only the total for men and women being published in 1906.

on January 1 in the years between 1906 and 1928. Table IV shows the number of old age pensions paid in those years, while the chart compares these series.

Chart I shows clearly how quickly the first Old Age Pension Act reduced the number of aged paupers. This act came into effect on January 1, 1909, and by March 490,755 claims to pensions had been received.[1] Of these 393,700 were passed as payable, a number which increased to 441,489 by March 1, 1910. This was 46 per cent of the

[1] "Annual Report of the Local Government Board," *Parliamentary Papers*, 1919, XXIV, p. 569.

population of pension age. Pensions were not paid to persons who received poor relief between 1908 and 1910, exceptions being made only in the case of poor relief that did not disqualify for the franchise.[1] Hence during this time the number of old persons receiving relief did not drop greatly, and the fact that the 1910 figure is much like that of 1906 is not surprising.

TABLE IV

OLD AGE PENSIONS PAYABLE ON THE LAST FRIDAY IN MARCH IN ENGLAND AND WALES* 1909–26

Year	Men	Women	Total	Total per 100 Persons of Pension Age
1909	not stated	not stated	393,700	42.1
1910	not stated	not stated	441,489	46.3
1911	218,158	395,715	613,873	57.2
1912	232,966	409,558	642,524	59.1
1913	245,418	423,228	668,646	60.7
1914	251,126	433,509	684,635	61.3
1915	252,930	438,475	691,405	61.1
1916	248,695	440,415	689,110	60.2
1917	236,976	433,417	670,393	57.2
1918	233,431	438,278	671,709	55.9
1919	224,435	434,383	658,818	54.1
1920	238,260	456,873	695,133	56.1
1921	252,595	481,700	734,295	56.3
1922	265,140	496,818	761,958	57.1
1923	282,538	513,294	795,832	57.5
1924	292,271	522,718	814,889	58.2
1925	332,360	568,176	900,536	62.7
1926	356,775	596,549	953,324	65.5

* Annual Report, Commissioner of Custom and Excises, 1928.

On January 1, 1911, the greater part of the pauper group became eligible for pensions on condition that they relinquished their poor relief allotment. The full effect of the Act on the Poor Law was, of course, not seen until January 1, 1912; but, the pension year ending March 1, the 1911 figure for pensions payable shows the result of this change there. Between 1910 and 1912 the number of pensions payable increased by 201,035, while the number of persons over seventy receiving poor relief fell 137,076. The discrepancy

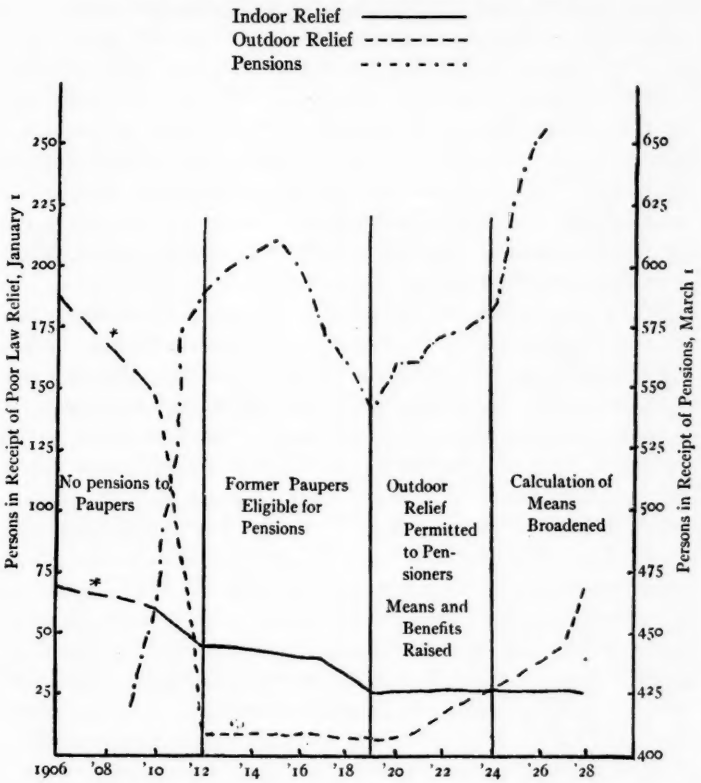
[1] Such relief included the following types: the receipt of only medical or surgical attendance; the care of a dependent in a lunatic asylum, hospital, or infirmary; the payment of the burial expenses of a dependent.

is due to various causes, among which is the fact that the Act of 1911 somewhat lightened the conditions for the receipt of a pension.[1]

CHART I

NUMBER OF PERSONS 70 AND OVER IN RECEIPT OF POOR RELIEF COMPARED WITH NUMBER IN RECEIPT OF PENSIONS

(Per 1000 population of that age) England and Wales



* No figures, 1907–1909.

For figures, see Tables III and IV.

[1] This act (1, 2 George V, c. 16) provided a clearer method of calculating the income, more clearly defined "nationality," and "residence," and changed the criminal disqualification from ten to two years after imprisonment.

Once in full effect, the Old Age Pension Act almost eliminated outdoor poor relief for persons of pension age. Of the few thousands who remained on the Poor Law, the majority were pensioners whose relief was of the non-disqualifying type.

The effect on indoor relief was not so marked, although even there the decrease of 1912 over 1906 was a third. The reason is obvious. Although a certain number of old people are given relief indoors merely because there is no other place in which they can live, the majority are probably in such a condition of health that institutional care is essential. The 1910 report on poor relief, for instance, states that in the opinion of the medical officers, 67.8 per cent of the persons over seventy years of age relieved indoors in that year were unable to care for themselves due to physical or mental infirmity. This would account exactly for the two-thirds who in 1912 remained in the institutions in spite of the possibility of receiving pensions if they left.

Up to 1915 the number of pensioners continued to rise, while between 1916 and 1919 there was a considerable decrease. This was probably due to the greater demand for labor during those years and, perhaps, to the granting of dependents' separation allowances to the parents and grandparents of unmarried men in the army and navy. Those who remained pensioners were granted in October, 1916, an additional allowance of 2/6 a week if the high cost of living was causing them hardship. In August, 1917, this provision was extended to give 2/6 a week additional to all pensioners whose total income was not over £31.10 a year if single, or £63 if married. By these methods it was possible to enforce the provision that poor relief should not be received concurrently with a pension. Outdoor relief during the war stayed steadily at its low, 1912 point, while indoor relief continued to fall.

In 1919 a new Old Age Pension Act was passed, which went into effect on January 2, 1920. The chief change, from the point of view of this study, was that which removed the pauper disqualification. Only those paupers were denied pensions who were inmates of workhouses or other Poor Law institutions, while even such persons were permitted to retain their pensions for three months if they were in the institutions for medical or surgical treatment. The "additional

allowances" ceased, but both the income at which the pension was payable and the pension itself were raised. The new scale of means and benefits was as follows:

Means per annum not over—			Pension per week (shillings)
£	*s.*	*d.*	
26	5		10
31	10		8
36	15		6
42			4
47	5		2
49	17	6	1

Means over £49.17.6—no pension.

The after-war prosperity is reflected in the immediate effect of this act; for the pension claims did not increase greatly, nor did many persons seek additional poor relief. But the economic depression set in about November, 1920, and by January 1, 1921, the poor relief figures showed a definite, though relatively slight, increase. The pension figure for March, 1921, was not much above that for 1920, for these figures give the total for the preceding year. By the next year, however, both pensions and poor relief grants were considerably higher, and from that time on they have steadily mounted.

In 1924 another amending act changed the method of calculating the incomes of persons applying for pensions: any income up to £39 derived from any source other than earnings was to be deducted from the means qualifying for a pension. This, of course, increased the number of pensioners, as, probably, did the continued depression, but it did not decrease the number of persons aided by the Poor Law. By 1926, 65 per cent of the persons of pension age were in receipt of pensions, and about 7 per cent were receiving Poor Law aid in addition to pensions.

This latter group, as the table and chart show, were far less numerous even by 1928 than they had been before pensions existed, but the sharp upward trend in out-relief numbers after the restriction was removed does suggest that in a depression period pensions need to be supplemented by additional aid in order to care adequately for the aged poor.

The course of indoor poor relief appears at first sight rather

peculiar. Dropping steadily during the war—a situation which in itself would be quite understandable—it reached a point in 1919 from which it has scarcely changed since. The explanation again probably lies in the Old Age Pension Act. From 1920 on, old persons were allowed to receive both outdoor relief and pensions, but if they accepted indoor relief it usually meant relinquishing the pension. By the end of the war it is likely that most of the old people who could in any way care for themselves by means of a pension had left the Poor Law institutions. Their relative numbers had been cut in half between 1910 and 1920. Then came the depression —and there was little change in indoor relief figures. One possible explanation suggests itself. Entering an institution for more than three months medical treatment meant relinquishing the pension. The majority of old persons live not alone but in the homes of their relatives. As the depression continued, their pensions probably counted for more and more in the general household budget of many families. Add to this the fact that after 1920 the amount of the pension was increased and that outdoor poor relief could be procured in addition to it in case of great necessity—and the explanation of why more old people did not enter institutions during the depression is clear.

When the receiving of pensions was dependent upon relinquishing poor relief, outdoor relief dropped almost to zero and indoor relief decreased a third. When outdoor relief could be procured in addition to a pension, outdoor relief increased. When outdoor relief and a pension were procurable and the receipt of indoor relief meant relinquishing the pension, indoor relief dropped and then remained steady in spite of a severe economic depression. It thus appears that the demand on the Poor Law is dependent on Old Age Pension policy.

But that is only a half statement of the case. For the policy itself is dependent upon economic conditions. The war necessitated the extra-allowance system, and the after-war depression both the raising of means and benefits and a changed attitude toward the supplementation of benefits. It is only when both pensions and relief are permitted by law that the true effect of pensions on poor

relief can be seen. And this situation has not yet existed under normal economic conditions.

Whether the showing thus far is encouraging or not is a matter of opinion. The granting of pensions has kept the number of aged relieved outdoors under the Poor Law down to a fourth of the 1906 figure in spite of an eight-year-long depression. In 1928, 6.5 per cent of the old age pensioners were in receipt of Poor Law assistance. How many more would have needed such assistance had there been no pension system it is impossible to say; but, when it is remembered that all pensioners have means of less than £50 a year, it is certain that the number would have been much greater than at present. The number of persons of pension age in the population is itself about two-thirds again as large as in 1906. Had only the proportion receiving poor relief at that time, a year of average economic prosperity, been so supported in 1928 there would have been about 400,000, instead of 116,000, old persons dependent on the Poor Law now—nearly one-half of the present old age pensioners. Such speculations may be valueless, but it seems undeniable that old age pensions have definitely lightened the burden of the Poor Law, and, to a large extent, justified the prophecies which were made concerning them over fifty years ago.

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SOURCE MATERIALS

THE GERMAN NATIONAL CHILD WELFARE LAW

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THE German system of public care for children and youth is unique in the world. Since 1924, every community in Germany has a public bureau to which every child in need of certain minimum services may turn. Under the law these minimum services are mandatory. The public bureau is obliged to act in behalf of the needy minor.

The law establishing this network of child welfare bureaus emerged from the most trying period in Germany's immediate postwar situation. It was founded upon widespread need among children and a vigorous determination among adults to create new generations of strong and vigorous folk.

Designed to cope with problems in an aggravated form, the system of organization under the National Child Welfare Law of Germany is a system whose greatest value lies in its simple assurance of minima of health and of opportunity for education to all children. The most obvious question that the statute raises might be briefly summarized as follows: "Why should any civilized country fail to provide such minima for those inevitable groups of children upon whom the uncertainties of a system of life in families react so dramatically?"

The statute is presented because of its inherent interest and because it has the possibility of suggestion for a national program for child welfare in the United States.

E. D. M.

The German National Child Welfare Law (July 9, 1922)[1]

CHAPTER I. GENERAL

SECTION 1. Every German child has the right of training for physical, mental-spiritual, and social competence.

The right and duty of the parents to educate will not be affected by this law. Any interference, against the will of those responsible for the education of a child, is permissible only if provided by law.

In so far as the right of the child to education shall not be fulfilled by the family, public child welfare authority shall intervene, without reference to, and quite apart from, voluntary activity.

SEC. 2. The agencies of public child welfare are the child welfare bureaus (Jugendämter, Landesjugendämter, and Reichsjugendamt) in so far as competence is not legally given to some other corporate body, in particular the school.

Public child welfare work includes all official measures for furthering the welfare of children (Jugendpflege and Jugendfürsorge)[2] and shall be regulated, without interference with existing laws, according to the provisions which follow.

CHAPTER II. CHILD WELFARE OFFICIALS

1. JUGENDAMT[3]

a) Competence.—SEC. 3. The duties of the Jugendamt are:

1. The care of foster children as provided in sections 19–31.

2. Co-operation in matters pertaining to guardianship, in particular, the activities of the community agent for the care of orphans, as provided in sections 32–48.

3. Provision for needy young children, as provided in sections 49–55.[4]

4. Co-operation with and participation in probation and correctional education, as provided in sections 56–76.

[1] Translated by Earl Dewey Myers.

[2] These terms appear in parentheses in the text of the law. Jugendpflege refers to community measures for the care of normal children, such as the public school, public playgrounds, etc., and, as well, the activities of Youth Movement groups. Jugendfürsorge applies to measures designed to relieve situations in which the child or youth is out of normal adjustment.

[3] This term might be rendered, "public child welfare bureau." However, because it is, in many respects, a distinctively German agency, differing in a number of ways from a public child welfare bureau in the United States, the German term has been used throughout.

[4] These sections (except 55) were repealed by article 2 of the order giving effect to the whole law, under date of February 14, 1924.

5. Assistance in the juvenile court, as provided in the Juvenile Court Law.

6. Co-operation in the supervision of the work of children and juvenile workers according to subsequent regulations established by the authority of the separate states.

7. Co-operation in the care of orphans and children of persons damaged by the war.

8. Co-operation with police officials in the assistance of juveniles, especially through supervision with a view to preventing their being taken into custody, according to subsequent provision by the authority of the separate states.

SEC. 4. It is the duty of the Jugendamt, further, to stimulate establishments and arrangements to further, and in given cases to provide for: (1) council in matters affecting juveniles; (2) the care of mothers before and after the delivery of a child; (3) the welfare of infants; (4) the welfare of children of pre-school age; (5) the welfare of children of school age, outside the school; (6) the welfare of youths who have left school. The latter may be regulated by the highest officials of the separate states.

SEC. 5. The officials of the Reich,[1] the states, the local administrative bodies and the Jugendämter shall mutually assist, and the Jugendämter shall assist each other in fulfilling the duties of child welfare work.

SEC. 6. The Jugendamt shall bolster up the activities of voluntary associations for the furthering of child welfare, shall protect their statutory character and independence, and shall stimulate their co-operation in order that it may work together with these associations toward the objective of a systematic co-ordination of all organizations and agencies of public and private child welfare work and of the Youth Movement.

SEC. 7. The Jugendamt is competent to care for all minors who have their permanent residence in the district served by it. When the need of public assistance of children arises within a district the Jugendamt of this district is competent for taking temporary measures.

Disputes concerning competence will be decided by the highest officials of the states, and, if the Jugdendämter belong to different states, by the Administrative Court of the Reich.

b) *Composition and procedure.*—SEC. 8. Jugendämter shall be established as agencies of communities or as community associations for a given

[1] Reich being the official designation for the German Republic, the term has not been rendered into English.

district of the German Reich. The highest officials of the separate states shall determine the limits of the districts for which the Jugendämter are competent.

SEC. 9. The composition, constitution, and procedure of the Jugendamt shall be regulated by decree of the competent local administrative body on the basis of the provisions of state law.

As members of the Jugendamt with full rights, shall be chosen, besides the leading child welfare officials, experienced and discreet men and women from all walks of life, in particular from those working in the voluntary child welfare agencies and in the Youth Movement in the district of the Jugendamt. The agencies shall nominate, and shall have the right to two-fifths of the total number of unofficial members.

As a rule, only persons who, as one proof of sufficient preparation, shall have served a minimum of one year in practical child welfare work shall be officially chosen in the Jugendamt.

The Guardianship Court is entitled to participation in the deliberations of the Jugendamt and has in them an advisory position.

SEC. 10. In so far as there exists for the district of a community or for the community association a welfare bureau or other suitable agency (state or local government) doing welfare work, it may, through subsequent action of the legislative body of the state, the highest officials of the state, or through an order of the competent local-government body, take over the duties of the Jugendamt, with the provision that the management provided for in section 9 is put into effect.

If there exists a health department or suitable health official in a district, the duties relating to health may be taken over by this department or official. In this case, the officials must act in harmony with the Jugendamt.

SEC. 11. The Jugendamt may assume the arrangement of single matters or of groups of matters through special committees on which persons other than members may be chosen, as well as through agencies for the assistance of children and agencies of the Youth Movement or through individual men and women, experienced and capable in the field of child welfare work. Such arrangements shall be made subject to revocation. The particulars shall be regulated by the government of the Reich as provided in section 15, or by the highest officials of the separate states. The obligation of the Jugendamt with reference to the specific arrangements for which it is obliged to assume responsibility shall not be affected by these measures.

2. LANDESJUGENDAMT[1]

SEC. 12. For insuring a constant fulfilling of the duties obligatory upon the Jugendämter and for assisting in their work, Landesjugendämter shall be established.

The larger states may set up several Landesjugendämter.

Smaller states may set up a joint Landesjugendamt. The Jugendämter of a state or a part of a state may be added to the Landesjugendamt of another state. Also, a Landesjugendamt may be set up for the Jugendämter of different states or parts of states.

SEC. 13. The following are incumbent upon the Landesjugendamt: (1) The setting up of common standards and the institution of other suitable measures for the effective and consistent activity of the Jugendämter in its district; (2) the advice of the Jugendämter and the dissemination of information in the field of child welfare; (3) the providing of common institutions and establishments for the participating Jugendämter; (4) co-operation in bringing juveniles under care; (5) the coordination of all institutions and establishments which receive and care for endangered and neglected juveniles; (6) co-operation in correctional education as provided in section 71; (7) the dissemination of suggestions for voluntary activity, as well as the encouragement of private agencies in all spheres of child welfare, and the furthering of their systematic cooperation with each other and with the Jugendämter in the territory of the Landesjugendamt; (8) the giving of permission for the adoption of foster children through institutions, as well as the inspection and supervision of institutions as provided in section 29.

Further duties may be imposed upon the Landesjugendämter by the highest officials of the separate states.

SEC. 14. The composition, constitution, and procedure of the Landesjugendamt as well as its position with reference to the Jugendämter shall be regulated by the separate states. Moreover, section 9, sentences 1 and 2, and section 10, sentence 1, apply, with the provision that representatives of the Jugendämter and judicial officials shall in particular be chosen as members of the Landesjugendamt.

3. REICHSJUGENDAMT

SEC. 15. For insuring, in so far as possible, a systematic fulfilment of the duties of the Jugendämter, the government of the Reich may, with the consent of the Reichsrat, make executive orders.

[1] Though literally "state" Jugendamt, many of these administrative agencies are organized to serve only a province or other part of a state. The provisions concerning their establishment and duties (sections 12–14) were, through the order of February 14, 1924, made a matter for detailed regulation by the states.

SEC. 16.[1] The Minister of the Reich for Home Affairs shall appoint an adviser concerning matters of child welfare. In conjunction with him, the government of the Reich shall establish the Reichsjugendamt. It shall have in its membership representatives of the Landesjugendämter. The provisions of section 9, sentence 2, also apply.

It shall be incumbent upon the Reichsjugendamt to give assistance to efforts in the field of child help, to collect information in the field of child welfare, and to make it available to the Landesjugendämter. It shall, as well, assume responsibility for the utilization of the information collected.

SEC. 17.[1] Revisions of the range of duties and the composition, constitution, and procedure of the Reichsjugendamt shall be made by executive order of the government of the Reich with the consent of the Reichsrat.

4. APPEAL

SEC. 18. The right of appeal against the decisions of the Jugendamt and the Landesjugendamt shall be regulated by the separate states.

Final decision of appeals under this law lies to the Administrative Court of the Reich. The details shall be regulated by the government of the Reich with the consent of the Reichsrat.

CHAPTER III. CARE OF FOSTER CHILDREN

1. PERMISSION TO RECEIVE FOR CARE

SEC. 19. Foster children are children under fourteen years of age who are, during, or for only part of the day, however regularly, under strange care, unless it is unquestionably certain that they are being taken, without cost, under temporary care.

SEC. 20. Whoever receives a foster child for care must have the previous consent of the Jugendamt. In exceptional cases, the permission may be effected immediately after the child has been received. Whoever moves into the district of a Jugendamt with such a child must immediately secure the permission of the Jugendamt for the continuation of its care.

If it is unquestionably certain that the child is being taken temporarily under free care, or under care whose object is not that of profiting by the work of the child, notification of the Jugendamt is sufficient.

SEC. 21. The provisions of this division (division 1 of chap. iii) do not apply when legitimate children are cared for by relatives or by relatives by marriage to the third degree, unless these persons professionally or habitually take care of children for pay.

The provisions of this division, further, do not apply to children who because of school attendance away from home are taken under care for a

[1] Sections 16 and 17 were, through order of February 14, 1924, not put into effect.

part of the day, as well as to children who, for the object of school attendance in a district away from home, are taken under care in families, if these families are declared suitable and are watched over by the school principal.

SEC. 22. The conditions for the granting of permission, its termination, and its revocation may be modified according to section 15 or by the Landesjugendämter.

The permission may be revoked if the physical, mental-spiritual, or moral welfare of the child will be furthered thereby.

SEC. 23. The Jugendamt in the district in which the person seeking permission to care for a foster child has his place of permanent residence is the one competent to grant and revoke permission.

2. SUPERVISION

SEC. 24. Foster children are subject to supervision by the Jugendamt. The same applies to illegitimate children who live with the mother.

The rights of supervision, especially in so far as they are for the furtherance of the health and moral well-being of the child, shall be regulated according to section 15 or by the Landesjugendämter.

SEC. 25. On the basis of provisions set up according to section 15 or by an administrative order from the Landesjugendämter, foster children may be made subject to provisional release from supervision, if the well-being of the child is not thus endangered.

Illegitimate children who, as provided in section 1706, sentence 2, of the Civil Code, bear the name of the mother's husband, shall be provisionally free from supervision so long as they remain under the care of the mother and her husband. The same shall apply to children who are cared for by their grandparents or guardians.

SEC. 26. Whoever has the care of a child, subject to supervision as provided in section 24, paragraph 1, is obliged to report immediately to the Jugendamt the reception, release, change of residence, or death of the child. Modifications of this provision may be made according to section 15 or by the Landesjugendämter.

3. EMERGENCY PLACEMENT

SEC. 27. If there is danger in delay, the Jugendamt may remove a foster child at once from the home where it is receiving care and place it temporarily elsewhere.

The Jugendamt is obliged to notify the competent guardianship court immediately upon the removal of the child.

4. OFFICIALLY ORDERED FAMILY, INSTITUTION, AND AGENCY CARE

SEC. 28. The bestowal of permission and the supervision of children, who shall be brought under family care by officials empowered to do so by other Reich or state law, shall lie with these officials. The taking over of these powers from these officials by the competent local Jugendamt may be ordered by the competent Reich or state officials.

SEC. 29. The Landesjugendämter may provisionally free institutions which take children under care from the application of the provisions of sections 20–23. The exemption may be revoked only when the Landesjugendamt ascertains facts which affect unfavorably the suitability of the institution for the reception of foster children.

The provisions of sections 24–26 find application with the stipulation that the Landesjugendämter take the place of the Jugendämter, and that the regulation of the competence to supervise remain reserved to the legislative bodies of the separate states.

The Landesjugendamt may stipulate in how far the provisions of these sections apply to foster children who are under the supervision of one of the private child welfare agencies declared by it to be suitable.

Through state law, the highest officials of the separate states may be declared competent to act in place of the Landesjugendämter.

5. PROVISIONS CONCERNING PENALTIES

SEC. 30. Whoever takes a foster child under care without the prescribed consent or notification, or keeps a child under care after the expiration or revocation of the permit, or who violates the regulations set up in accordance with section 22, paragraph 1, shall be punished by a fine of not less than 3 Reichsmark nor more than 10,000 Reichsmark, or by jail or imprisonment for not more than three months.

The same punishment applies to anyone who, in the notification prescribed in section 26, knowingly makes a false statement, or who buries the body of a foster child or an illegitimate child without the prescribed notice.

Whoever does not discharge his duty with reference to the notice prescribed in section 26 shall be punished with a fine of not over 1,500 Reichsmark or with confinement in jail.

Punishment will be given only on complaint of the Jugendamt. The withdrawal of the complaint is permissible.

6. THE AUTHORITY OF STATE LEGISLATIVE BODIES

SEC. 31. The competence of the legislative bodies of the separate states to enact further provisions for the care of children, as well as to

permit exceptions to the provisions of sections 20 and 24 for the supervision of children in rural districts, remains unimpaired.

CHAPTER IV. THE PLACE OF THE JUGENDAMT IN MATTERS OF GUARDIANSHIP: INSTITUTION AND AGENCY GUARDIANSHIP

1. OFFICIAL GUARDIANSHIP

a) General provisions.—SEC. 32. The Jugendamt shall assume guardianship in the cases covered by the following provisions (official guardianship). It may transfer to its individual members and officials responsibility for performing the duties and obligations of guardianship. To the extent of the transfer, the members and officials are competent to act as legal representative of the ward.

SEC. 33. In the matter of official guardianship, the provisions of the Civil Code apply, with the following stipulations. A Gegenvormund[1] may not be appointed. The exemptions permitted by sections 1852–54 of the Civil Code apply to the official guardian.[2] Sections 1788, 1801, 1835, 1836, paragraph 1, sentences 2–4, and paragraph 2, 1837, paragraph 2, 1838, 1844, and 1886 do not apply.[3]

Section 1805[4] of the Civil Code applies with the stipulation that the

[1] A Gegenvormund is a person appointed by the court to protect the property of a minor against possible exploitation or misuse by the regular guardian.

[2] These sections specify certain exemptions from the general rules of property care and accounting which may, normally, be waived by the testament of a father in behalf of his child in naming a guardian. The simplified procedure which the exemptions make possible is made applicable to the official guardian.

[3] These sections provide certain protective measures against the possible neglect of the ward or the misuse of his property by a guardian. Section 1788 provides that a person refusing to assume guardianship when appointed by the court may be punished. Section 1801 gives the court power to remove from the hands of a guardian whose religion is different from that of the ward, the responsibility for his religious education, placing it in suitable hands. Sections 1835 and 1836 specify certain conditions under which the guardian may be reimbursed for special services or paid a definite amount for performing the services of guardian, the amounts to be taken from the property of the ward. Section 1837, paragraph 2, gives the guardianship court power to fine the guardian who persistently disregards specific orders of the court concerning details of the care of a ward. Section 1838 gives the court power to remove a ward from the care of an unsuitable guardian, placing him in family or institutional care. Section 1844 provides that the court may demand bond as a protection of the property of the ward. Section 1886 names certain bases upon which a guardian may be dismissed by the court.

[4] This section merely says that the guardian may not use the property of the ward for himself.

investment of the money of the ward as provided in section 1807 of the Civil Code is also permitted, for which function the Jugendamt is constituted a corporate body. If the Jugendamt has incurred expenses in the conduct of the guardianship, these expenses shall be repaid from the property of the ward. General administrative costs will not be repaid.

The official guardian must, in providing for the care of the ward, give consideration to the religious beliefs or the philosophy of life of the ward or his family.

SEC. 34. The legislative bodies of the separate states may stipulate that further provisions of the first heading of the third section of the fourth book of the Civil Code, which concern the supervision of the guardianship court in matters affecting property, remain without application to official guardianship. The auditing of the final balance and the confirmation under oath by the guardianship court shall not be affected by such provisions.

b) Official guardianship provided by law.—SEC. 35. With the birth of an illegitimate child, the Jugendamt in the place where the child is born shall assume guardianship.

Until the intervention of the competent guardianship court, the court of first instance (Amtsgericht) in the district in which the child is born shall take the necessary measures with reference to matters of guardianship.

Concerning illegitimate German children who are born outside Germany and who take up residence in Germany, in case a German guardian has not been appointed, the provisions of paragraph 1 of this section apply with the stipulation that the competent Jugendamt according to section 7 of this law, exercise guardianship.

SEC. 36. The registrar of vital statistics shall send to the Jugendamt the notice required to be given to the guardianship court by section 48 of the law of the Reich concerning matters of voluntary jurisdiction of the 17–20 of May, 1898 (Reichsgesetzblatt, pp. 189, 771). This notification shall contain a communication concerning religious belief. Upon receipt of the birth notice, the Jugendamt shall at once notify the guardianship court of the beginning of guardianship.

SEC. 37. The guardianship court shall give to the Jugendamt at once a certificate of the beginning of guardianship, which shall be returned upon the termination of the guardianship.

SEC. 38. On motion of the Jugendamt or of an unmarried mother, a Pfleger[1] may be appointed for a foetus. Such a person may also be ap-

[1] Literally, "caretaker."

pointed if the provision of section 1912, sentence 1, of the Civil Code[1] has not been complied with. Upon the birth of the child, the Pfleger shall, with the consent of the Jugendamt, become guardian. In this case, section 35 does not apply. The guardianship will be settled by the guardianship court in which the matter of the appointment of the Pfleger was cared for.

SEC. 39. Whenever it will further the welfare of the ward, the Jugendamt serving as guardian shall enter a motion that the Jugendamt of another district assume the further prosecution of the guardianship. The motion may also be made by the Jugendamt of another district, as well as by the mother or any other person who has a legitimate interest in the ward. The Jugendamt relinquishing the guardianship shall notify the guardianship court at once of the change.

The guardianship court may be appealed to against the rejection of the motion.

SEC. 40. The guardianship court shall, on motion of the Jugendamt, dismiss the Jugendamt as official guardian and appoint an individual guardian, provided it is not contrary to the welfare of the ward.

c) Appointive official guardianship.—SEC. 41. The Jugendamt may, if it consents, be appointed guardian of a minor child under the provisions of section 1773 of the Civil Code,[2] instead of the persons competent to be guardian as specified in section 1776 of the Civil Code,[3] provided another suitable guardian is not at hand.

Sections 1789 and 1791 of the Civil Code[4] do not apply to appointive official guardianship. The appointment is achieved by a written order of the guardianship court.

[1] The Civil Code of Germany makes provision for the appointment of a Pfleger for the performance of a number of duties, e.g., the care of the property of a ward whose guardian cannot perform this duty, the management of specified affairs of a deaf and dumb person, the care of the property of a person whose whereabouts is unknown. The sentence cited in the law provides for the appointment of a Pfleger for a foetus in cases in which it is necessary in securing the future rights of the unborn child.

[2] This section is the basic clause in the law of appointive guardianship, merely stipulating that when a minor is not under the care of his parents, or when he has property which must be cared for, the guardianship court shall name a guardian.

[3] Section 1776 indicates persons who are normally to be appointed as guardian. Parents may name some person in testament. If no person is named, paternal and then maternal grandfather are competent.

[4] Section 1789 stipulates that the guardian shall take oath before the guardianship court to perform faithfully his duties. Section 1791 provides that a formal certificate of appointment shall be given by the court to each guardian appointed.

2. RELATION OF THE JUGENDAMT TO THE GUARDIANSHIP COURT AND TO GUARDIANSHIP BY AN INDIVIDUAL

SEC. 42. The Jugendamt is the community agency for the care of orphans. Section 11 applies at this point.

The legislative bodies of the separate states may designate local agencies to assist the Jugendamt in the duties of community agency for the care of orphans.

SEC. 43. The Jugendamt shall assist the guardianship court in all matters which concern the care of the person of minors, especially through giving advice in fixing the amount to be paid for the support of dependent minors. Before a decision in cases coming under section 1635, paragraph 1, sentence 2, section 1666, section 1727, section 1728, paragraph 2, section 1729, paragraph 2, section 1750, paragraph 1, and section 1751, paragraph 2, of the Civil Code,[1] the guardianship court shall consult the competent Jugendamt. In cases where delay is dangerous to the child the guardianship court may make interim orders before consulting the Jugendamt. It may, with the consent of the Jugendamt, entrust to that body the carrying out of the provisions of section 1631, paragraph 2, and section 1636, sentence 2, of the Civil Code,[2] as well as other orders.

The Landesjugendamt may, on motion of the Jugendamt, empower

[1] Section 1635, paragraph 1, sentence 2, empowers the court to make special rulings in the cases of children of divorced parents. Section 1666 gives the court the right to remove children from the care of the father in cases of abuse or physical or moral neglect. Section 1727 gives power to the guardianship court to compel the consent of the mother of an illegitimate child to the legitimation process if the minor involved requests such compulsion and if the consequences to the minor of failure to become legitimated are disproportionately great. Section 1728 makes exception to the general rule that consent in cases involving legitimation procedure may be given only by the person immediately involved by providing that in cases in which a minor is incapable of self-support or is under 14 years of age his legal representative may, if the guardianship court is agreed, give consent to the procedure. Section 1729, paragraph 2, provides that the legal representative as well as the guardianship court must give assent to legitimation procedure when the minor is partially disabled so that complete self-support will not be possible. Section 1750, paragraph 1, provides that an adoption contract cannot be entered into through a representative, but that the legal representative and guardianship court may act for the child. Section 1751, paragraph 2, specifies that the occupationally handicapped child must have the consent of both his legal representative and the guardianship court for his adoption.

[2] The first of these sections concerns the right of the father to punish his child, specifying that he may come to the guardianship court and request the court to apply further suitable punitive measures. The second section gives power to the guardianship court to regulate in detail the contacts between the child of divorced parents and the parent who does not have legal custody of the child.

members or officials of the Jugendamt to undertake the verifications provided in section 1718 and section 1720, paragraph 2, of the Civil Code,[1] as well as to receive and attest the declarations required by section 1706, paragraph 2, of the Civil Code.[2]

SEC. 44. The Jugendamt shall enter a motion for the appointment of an individual guardian if it appears that this will further the interests of the ward. It may also move for the appointment of an assisting guardian for carrying out certain specified activities.

The appointment may be of a person who has a rightful interest in the ward. When the child has reached fourteen years of age, he may himself enter a motion for such an appointment. The appointment may also be made ex officio. Before deciding, the guardianship court shall consult the Jugendamt and, if possible, the mother of the ward.

SEC. 45. It shall be the duty of the Jugendamt to give systematic advice to the guardians, Beistände (persons who assist the guardians), and Pfleger (see section 38) in its district, and to aid them in carrying out their offices. Modification of these provisions may be made according to section 13, paragraph 1, number 1, and section 15. Section 11 applies at this point.

3. THE JUGENDAMT AS ASSISTING GUARDIAN (MITVORMUND), COUNTER-GUARDIAN (GEGENVORMUND), PFLEGER (SEE SECTION 38), AND ASSISTANT TO THE GUARDIAN (BEISTAND)

SEC. 46. The foregoing provisions apply to the appointment of the Jugendamt as Mitvormund, Gegenvormund, Pfleger, or Beistand, and to the taking over of single rights and duties of a guardian by the Jugendamt.

4. INSTITUTION AND AGENCY GUARDIANSHIP

SEC. 47. Directors of institutions which are under the administration of the state or of a public corporation, as well as the directors of such private institutions or agencies as are declared suitable by the Landesjugendamt, may on their (the directors') motion, be appointed guardian (institution or agency guardianship). They may also be designated as

[1] Section 1718 stipulates that a man in acknowledging the paternity of an illegitimate child may not name another as having also lived with the mother. Section 1720, paragraph 2, provides that in cases in which a man and woman are married during the pregnancy of the woman or after the birth of a child, and the man makes public declaration acknowledging paternity of the child, it carries with it the presumption that he has had sexual relations with the mother during the period in which pregnancy has occurred.

[2] The declarations concerned are those of the stepfather and stepchild in cases in which an official change of family name for the child is desired.

Pfleger or Beistand. They may likewise take over single rights and duties of the guardian. In those cases in which the minor has previously been under the guardianship or care of the Jugendamt, that agency must be consulted before action is taken under this section. The provisions of sections 33, 40, 41, and 44 apply to institution and agency guardianship with the stipulation that a counter-guardian (Gegenvormund) may be appointed. In particular, the appointment of a Jugendamt as Gegenvormund is permissible.

SEC. 48. Article 136 of the law giving effect to the Civil Code[1] and sections 1783 and 1887 of the Civil Code[2] are repealed. To section 1784 of the Civil Code,[3] the following clause is added: "This permit may be withheld only if an important official reason presents itself."

To section 1786, number 1, of the Civil Code[4] shall be added the words: "who has two or more children under school age, or who authentically shows that her obligations in the care of her own family make the exercise of the office particularly and enduringly difficult."

CHAPTER V. PUBLIC ASSISTANCE OF DEPENDENT MINORS[5]

SEC. 55. In so far as removal from his present environment is necessary for the prevention of the neglect of a dependent minor, the matter shall

[1] This article placed in the hands of the states the regulation of educational or training schools, of matters relating to illegitimate children cared for at home or in families under the supervision of officials or of the director of an educational or training school, of matters relating to the guardianship of and to persons acting as guardians of pupils of training schools or of illegitimate children under official or institutional supervision.

[2] Section 1783 provided that a woman who married a man other than the father of her illegitimate child could be appointed guardian only with the consent of her husband. Section 1887 provides: (1) that the guardianship court may discharge a woman as guardian when she marries, and (2) that the guardianship court must discharge a woman as guardian when her husband refuses consent to such guardianship, or withdraws it.

[3] This section reads: "An official or a religious servant who, according to state laws, is required to have a special permit to take over the duties of guardian shall not be appointed as guardian without the prescribed permit."

[4] This section reads: "Persons who may refuse to act as guardians are: (1) A woman."

[5] This chapter included, in the original statute, sections 49–55, inclusive. All sections except 55 were repealed by article 2 of the law giving effect to the statute, under date of February 14, 1924. The public assistance of dependent children is regulated by an order of February 13, 1924, concerning the public assistance of all sorts of dependent persons (*Verordnung über die Fürsorgepflicht*). Therefore only section 55 is translated.

be regulated according to the provisions of this law concerning correctional education.

CHAPTER VI. PROBATION AND CORRECTIONAL EDUCATION

1. PROBATIONARY SUPERVISION

SEC. 56. A minor shall be placed under probationary supervision when it seems necessary and sufficient for the prevention of physical, spiritual, or moral neglect.

SEC. 57. The guardianship court shall order probationary supervision either in its official capacity or on motion. The parents, legal representative, and the Jugendamt have the right of motion. The guardianship court must consult the Jugendamt before deciding concerning probationary supervision.

The decision of the guardianship court shall be made known to the persons named in paragraph 1 of this section, and to the minor if he has reached the age of fourteen years, in so far as the contents of the decision are not of a sort which will injure the minor.

If the guardianship court is not that in the place of permanent abode of the minor, the case shall be given over to this court (i.e., to the court in the district where the minor permanently resides) on motion of the Jugendamt as provided in section 46 of the law of the Reich concerning matters of voluntary jurisdiction, provided there are not particular reasons for not doing so.

SEC. 58. Probationary supervision consists in the care and watching-over of the minor. The one who assumes probationary supervision shall assist and keep watch over those who are responsible for the education of the minor. Probationary supervision includes the care of property only in so far as the earnings of the minor come into consideration.

The one who assumes probationary supervision may be appointed for all matters, for special kinds of matters, or for single matters.

The appointment shall specify the limits of the sphere of activity of the person who assumes probationary supervision.

The person who assumes probationary supervision has the right, in the exercise of his office, of access to the minor. The parents, legal representative, and persons to whom the minor may be given over for care and education are obliged to give information to the person exercising probationary supervision.

The person exercising probationary supervision shall notify the guardianship court immediately of every case in which there is need for the action of this court.

SEC. 59. Probationary supervision expires when the minor reaches his legal majority, or when correctional education is ordered. Probationary supervision is to be withdrawn when its objective has been attained, or when the reaching of it by other means is assured.

SEC. 60. The exercise of probationary supervision shall be taken over from the guardianship court by the Jugendamt, or, after consulting the Jugendamt, by an agency for child care or by a single person, provided the last two are prepared to exercise probationary supervision. In the exercise of probationary supervision, account is to be taken of the religious belief or philosophy of life of the minor. The guardianship court shall dismiss the one exercising probationary supervision if it appears that this will further the welfare of the minor. Detailed rules concerning the exercise of probationary supervision shall be set up by the government of the Reich with the consent of the Reichsrat or by the highest officials of the separate states.

On demand, a report concerning the conduct of a minor placed under probationary supervision shall be made to the guardianship court.

The Jugendamt may exercise probationary supervision without a court order, so long as those responsible for the education of the minor are agreed. In this case, the Jugendamt is obliged to notify the guardianship court of the beginning of probationary supervision.

SEC. 61. If at the time of ordering probationary supervision there exists a Beistand (a person who assists the guardian [see sections 1687 ff., of the Civil Code]), this official shall be withdrawn in so far as his sphere of activity overlaps that of probationary supervision.

2. CORRECTIONAL EDUCATION

SEC. 62. Correctional education is designed to prevent or to remove neglect, and shall be carried out in a suitable family or educational institution, under public supervision and at public cost.

SEC. 63. On the order of the guardianship court a minor who has not reached the end of his eighteenth year may be assigned to correctional education: (1) when the provisions of sections 1666 (see footnote to section 43) or 1838 (see footnote to section 33) of the Civil Code apply, and the removal of the minor from his present environment is necessary for the prevention of neglect, and in the opinion of the guardianship court it cannot be accomplished except through providing suitable care and lodgement for the child; (2) when it is necessary for the removal of neglect because of the inadequacies of education.

In case it appears likely that correctional education will succeed, it

may be ordered after the minor has reached eighteen, but is not yet twenty years of age.

In determining the age limit, the time when the motion is made to the court, or the proceedings are instituted according to section 65 or section 67 shall be taken. This point of time shall be written into the record of the court.

SEC. 64. Article 135 of the law giving effect to the Civil Code[1] is repealed.

SEC. 65. The guardianship court may order correctional education either ex officio or on motion. The right of motion lies to the Jugendamt, competent according to section 7. The right of motion may be extended by law by the separate states.

The guardianship court must notify the Jugendamt before its final decree, and shall, in so far as it can be accomplished without undue difficulty, notify the minor, his parents, and his legal representative. The state legislative bodies may require further notifications.

In the decree the grounds upon which the decision was made shall be assigned. When correctional education is ordered, the decree must state definitely the application of statutory provisions under the designation of facts considered as established.

The guardianship court may order the medical examination of a minor, and, for a period of at most six weeks, place him under observation in a special institution for the reception of psychopathic young persons or in a public institution for care and treatment.

The decree ordering correctional education shall be sent to the persons competent to move or apply, the legal representative, the parents, the officials in charge of correctional education, and further, to the minor himself if he has reached fourteen years of age, in so far as the contents of the decree are not of such a nature as to injure him. The decision refusing to order correctional education shall be given to the person applying, to the officials in charge of correctional education, and if temporary correctional education (see section 67) is ordered, the decree is to be given further to all persons to whom this order is sent.

Against the decree, immediate appeal with postponement of the operation of the decree lies to the persons who have the right to apply for correctional education and the officials in charge of correctional education. Further, if the decree orders correctional education, such appeal also lies

[1] This article provided that the right of the separate states to control correctional education remained untouched by the Civil Code.

to the legal representative, the parents, and to the minor himself, if he has reached fourteen years of age.

If the guardianship court is not that in the district in which the minor has his permanent residence, the case shall, on motion of the Jugendamt, be given over to the court in this district, as provided in section 46 of the law of the Reich concerning matters of voluntary jurisdiction, in so far as there are not particular reasons for not doing so.

SEC. 66. The carrying into effect of correctional education may be postponed by decree of the guardianship court for not more than one year. For special reasons, the postponement may be continued by order of the guardianship court for at most another year. Beyond twenty years of age, the process of postponement may not be continued.

The right of immediate appeal against the postponement of the carrying into effect of correctional education lies to the Jugendamt and to the officials in charge of correctional education.

For the period during which the carrying into effect of correctional education is postponed, probationary supervision must be ordered, as provided in sections 56 ff.

SEC. 67. If delay is dangerous, the guardianship court may order temporary correctional education for the minor. Against the decree immediate appeal lies to the persons named in section 65, paragraph 6. Section 18, paragraph 2, of the law of the Reich concerning matters of voluntary jurisdiction does not apply.

SEC. 68. For taking immediate measures on the basis of the provisions of this chapter, the court in the district in which the need for care arises is competent, as well as the court designated in section 43 of the law of the Reich concerning matters of voluntary jurisdiction. The court must notify the court of final competence concerning the measures ordered.

Section 43, paragraph 2, of the law of the Reich concerning matters of voluntary jurisdiction applies also when, concerning a person in respect of whom action of the guardianship court is necessary, a probationary supervision or correctional education procedure is pending.

SEC. 69. In cases of correctional education in a family, the minor shall be cared for in a family of his religious belief at least until school-leaving age. In cases of correctional education in an institution, he shall be cared for, if possible, in an institution of his religious belief.

Minors without religious persuasion shall be brought under the care of a family or institution of specified religious persuasion only with their own consent, provided they are able to state definitely their religious

belief; or, in other cases, with the consent of those responsible for their education.

Those responsible for the education of the minor must be notified at once of the place where the child is being cared for, provided this will not interfere with the objective of correctional education. Those responsible for the education of the minor have the right of appeal to the guardianship court against the refusal of this notification.

In putting into effect an order for correctional education, the training may be ordered, provisionally, in the minor's own family under public supervision, if by this the attainment of the objective of correctional education will not be imperiled. Within the first three months, the order must have the confirmation of the guardianship court concerning the feasibility of the decision in favor of correctional education. The officials in charge of correctional education have the right of immediate appeal against the refusal of this confirmation.

SEC. 70. The legislative bodies of the separate states shall regulate the carrying into effect of correctional education and specify the officials responsible for it, as well as those who shall bear its costs. As far as possible, the officials in charge of correctional education shall be united with the Landesjugendamt. Costs incurred through temporary correctional education fall upon the ones competent to bear the costs in case of a definitive order even though a final decree ordering correctional education is not entered. If there is a disagreement concerning compensation between the officials in charge of correctional education in the place of permanent and of temporary residence, section 7, paragraph 2, applies.

The correctional education of a minor, ordered by a competent guardianship court, must be carried out by the officials responsible for correctional education in the locality in which the guardianship court has jurisdiction. They shall regularly make use of the Jugendämter in carrying into effect correctional education. Correctional education goes into effect with the legal validation, and temporary correctional education with the announcement of the decree. The bringing under care shall follow under medical supervision.

The officials responsible for correctional education shall serve as legal representative of minors for the conclusion of contracts relating to service or apprenticeship.

The officials responsible for correctional education are authorized to enter a motion for bringing under care a pupil under correctional education because of insanity or feeblemindedness.

SEC. 71. The Landesjugendamt shall participate in carrying out cor-

rectional education, provided it is not itself, through modifications by the legislative bodies of the separate states, the official agency responsible for this work. Its opinion shall be listened to, especially in general statements of fundamental principles concerning the manner of carrying out the training, and it is entitled to make proposals concerning the conduct of correctional education. It may further co-operate with the officials responsible for correctional education in important decisions. It may also take over the supervision of pupils brought under care in institutions in its district, and may, as well, assume competence for deciding concerning complaints regarding orders made by the officials responsible for correctional education and relating to the conduct of the training, in so far as the courts have not been declared competent for this.

SEC. 72. Correctional education ends upon the attainment of legal majority. Correctional education is to be discontinued earlier, ex officio, or on motion of the persons named in section 65, paragraph 2, with the exception of the minor, when its objective has been attained or its attainment assured. The discontinuance may also be made subject to revocation, this to be regulated by the laws of the separate states. It may be stipulated by the law of the states that either the guardianship court or the officials responsible for correctional education are competent to decide concerning the discontinuance of correctional education, provided the person making the motion for discontinuance may, in case the officials responsible for correctional education are competent, call, within two weeks after the making of an order refusing such discontinuance, upon the guardianship court for a decision in the case, against which decision immediate appeal may be made. In so far as the guardianship court is competent for the discontinuance of correctional education, it must, before its decision, secure the opinion of the officials responsible for correctional education. These officials have the right of immediate appeal, with postponement of the operation of the decree, against the decree of the court discontinuing correctional education.

A motion for the discontinuance of correctional education may not be made, except by the Jugendamt, earlier than a year after the validation of the decree ordering such training. A refused motion may not be renewed before six months have elapsed.

SEC. 73. The earlier release of a minor because of the impracticability of correctional education, for reasons which lie within the person of the minor, is permissible, with the understanding that otherwise legally regulated custody of the minor is assured.

SEC. 74. The court proceedings shall be free of fees and stamp-free.

The expenses shall fall as a burden upon the public treasury. The persons who, according to section 65, sentence 2, are to be heard, may, in the event of their examination before the court, demand compensation for their expenses on the basis of the provisions which apply to witnesses. This does not, however, apply to the minor and his parents. Contracts concerning the bringing of minors under care in carrying into effect correctional education are stamp-free.

SEC. 75. The costs of correctional education shall be returned to the one bearing them, on his request, either from the leviable property of the minor or from that of the person under obligation for the support of the minor. Modifications of this provision may be made by the legislative bodies of the separate states. General administrative costs shall not be assessed.

SEC. 76. Whoever, apart from the cases covered by sections 120 and 235 of the Criminal Code,[1] withdraws a minor in respect of whom court procedure for bringing him under correctional education has been instituted or for whom correctional education has been ordered, from the procedure or the ordered correctional education, or incites him to withdraw himself from the procedure or the correctional education, or intentionally assists him to do so, shall, on motion of the officials in charge of correctional education, be punished by a fine of not less than three gold marks nor more than 10,000 gold marks, or two years in prison, or both. The withdrawal of the complaint is permissible.

The attempt is punishable.

FINAL PROVISIONS

SEC. 77. The governments of the separate states shall specify whether the highest officials of the state or the Landesjugendamt shall attend to single duties imposed by this law.

SEC. 78.[2]

[1] Section 120 provides punishment in cases of assisting a prisoner to escape. Though minors under correctional education are not considered as criminals, they may be placed in the hands of criminal authorities for purposes of transport, and may thus be affected by the statute. Section 235 concerns kidnapping.

[2] This section of the law was repealed by the order of February 14, 1924, which repealed those features of the law which had imposed new financial burdens upon the Reich and the states. In the original statute, Section 78 had called for a yearly fund in the budget of the Reich for assisting the states in carrying out the provisions of the law. The amount was fixed at 100,000,000 marks for each of the first three years, with the stipulation that this amount was to be revised yearly beginning with the budget of 1926.

RECENT COURT DECISIONS RELATING TO SOCIAL WELFARE

THE cases selected for presentation in summary form in this issue represent a selection from the 1930 decisions that seemed most directly related to the *Review's* field of interest. Among the subjects dealt with are the rights of the illegitimate child, non-support, custody of child, charities, desertion, and adoption.

The Rights of the Illegitimate Child: In re Snethun's Estate; Snethun v. Ovregaard, 230 North Western Reporter (Minnesota) 483 (April 17, 1930)

This was a proceeding for the probate of the estate of Peter J. Snethun, in which Ole P. Ovregaard claimed a share as heir. In the probate court one-third of the estate was assigned the widow and two-thirds to the petitioner, but on appeal this order was reversed.

The facts are, first, that under the Minnesota statute, an illegitimate child is entitled to inherit from a person who in writing and before a competent attesting witness shall have declared himself to be the father of the child; second, that the deceased was born in Norway in 1864, immigrated in 1892, and settled in Lac qui Parle County, where he resided until his death; third, that after his death there was found among his papers in a small locked box a sealed envelope on which was written his own name and then the words in Norwegian "Nobody break open this other than myself. After my time burn it up." The envelope contained two documents in Norwegian: (1) the record of proceedings under the Norwegian law ordering him to pay to the mother of the petitioner a specified annual "rearing contribution" unless he could exculpate himself from the charge that he was the father of the child, with receipts for certain payments; and (2) a later agreement between him and the mother of the child that in fulfilment of the obligation he be allowed to pay her a lump sum of 100 crowns. This agreement was signed by him, the child's mother, and was witnessed and was accompanied by receipts showing payment in full of this amount. On these two documents, the petitioner based his claim to succeed as heir. In the meantime the deceased had married only in 1922 and died leaving his widow but no children of the marriage.

The question was whether the agreement to pay with the accompanying documents constituted the written acknowledgment required by the statute; and while the probate court was satisfied that it did, the upper courts, referring to an earlier discussion to the effect that the writing to be effectual must contain an express acknowledgment of the paternity of the child, reversed the decision. It is interesting to note that the earlier case cited (Pederson v. Christofferson, 97 Minn. 491, 106 N.W. 958) does not support the point made here, but definitely construes the illegitimacy statute in a liberal way.

Unmarried Mother, Adoption: Gomez v. Hernandez, 29 South Western Reporter (2d) (Texas) 843 (June 4, 1930)

In this case Rosa Garcia, an unmarried mother, abandoned her infant daughter, born October 20, 1925, leaving the child with Mrs. Hernandez, in whose home she was living at the time of the child's birth. Three years later Mr. and Mrs. Hernandez, having cared for the child in the meantime, adopted her. In October, 1928, the mother married, and she and her husband in April, 1929, bring this action to recover the child. Under the statute, however, to recover a child whom she has abandoned, a parent must show both that the adoptive parents are unfit and that she is fit. This the mother in this case could not do.

Bastardy: Patterson v. State, 127 Southern Reporter (La. App.) 792 (December 10, 1929; rehearing denied January 7, 1930)

In Alabama there is a bastardy act of the older sort, under which the father of a child born out of wedlock may be ordered to pay toward the child's support. There is also a "non-support act," under which a parent who fails to provide for his infant child may be prosecuted, and if found guilty may be fined and imprisoned in the county jail. In other words, there are two ways in either of which a parent may be compelled to contribute to the support of his infant child. In this case where there had been a marriage but a void one the mother preferred the nonsupport rather than the bastardy act and proceeded under that statute; and over the father's protest that she should have selected the bastardy act the court held that he was liable under either.

Forced Marriage, Abandonment, Nonsupport: Hammons v. State, 287 Pacific Reporter (Okla.) 1076 (January 1, 1930)

The questions in the case are simply procedural questions; but the case is interesting, being one of those illustrations of the attempt to soothe

family pride and secure legitimacy by marriage of the parents of a child who otherwise would be born out of wedlock. The defendant and the prosecuting witness had relations outside marriage of which she told her mother. When he learned of her pregnancy, her father threatened the defendant, and a marriage was solemnized by a justice of the peace. The husband never lived with his wife, and after the child's birth he was prosecuted for abandonment and nonsupport and found guilty. As has been said, the case was appealed, and the defendant attempted first to escape and second to delay the execution of the sentence. The rulings of the court were on the merits and to the essence of the defendant's responsibility; but the reader cannot remain unaware of the hopeless confusion with reference to marital relationships that must exist in the minds of all parties where compulsion replaces sound social treatment.

Nonsupport, Abandonment: Brooke v. State, 128 Southern Reporter (Fla.) 814 (June 6, 1930)

This is an interesting interpretation of the nonsupport and abandonment law of Florida, showing the ambiguities that exist when criminal procedure is resorted to for the enforcement of domestic obligations. Under the common law, abandonment and nonsupport by a husband was not a criminal offense; and statutes bringing those acts into the category of crimes must in the view of the Florida court be strictly construed.

Horace Brooke was convicted of deserting his wife and withholding from her means of support, and appealed. The prosecution did not, however, introduce evidence to show that the defendant had means or the ability to acquire means for the support of himself and his family. There were several pleadings to the form of the charge and the nature of the verdict, but the ground for reversing the lower court was the deficiency in the evidence presented.

Nonsupport, Abandonment: Price v. State, 287 Pacific Reporter (Okla.) 1064 (January 1, 1930)

H. W. Price in 1923 left his wife and four children, all of whom were under fifteen years of age, went into another section of the state from where he wrote her a few times, then into another locality, where he obtained a divorce, of which she had no notice. After fifteen months he married again. He was later arrested, returned to his county of residence, prosecuted under the nonsupport and abandonment law, and convicted. The question was whether the divorce prevented the execution of the sentence. The judgment of the lower court was affirmed.

Juvenile Court, Parental Neglect: In re Owen, 127 Southern Reporter (170 La. 255) 619 (March 5, 1930)

In the opinion in this case there is no introductory statement with reference to the jurisdiction of the juvenile courts of Louisiana. The facts were that Mrs. Owen died, leaving, surviving, her husband and two infant children, a two-year-old daughter and a year-old boy. These children, it was alleged, the father neglected, so that it was imperative to authorize their being taken into custody by designated guardians. The father pleaded lack of jurisdiction and denied the neglect; but after hearing the evidence the court ordered the children to be given over to the care of designated foster parents. On appeal the order was sustained as within the jurisdiction of the juvenile court. That the order could be altered when the father found himself able to give proper care was made clear by the higher court.

Juvenile Court Jurisdiction, Delinquency: State v. Grayson, 127 Southern Reporter (170 La. 111) 382 (March 5, 1930)

This is another juvenile court case. In it the defendant was convicted and sentenced for the crime of burglary, and appealed. During the trial in the district court the defendant had denied the jurisdiction of the court, claiming juvenility and asking to be transferred to the juvenile court. Testimony on the subject of his age was taken in the district court but was not reduced to writing, as he asked to have done. The question of the defendant's youth was a matter for the judge, but the higher court held that the evidence should have been reduced to writing so that the facts could be reviewed by the upper tribunal, and on that account the conviction and sentence were annulled and the case was remanded for further action.

Family Relationships: Dunlap v. Dunlap, 150 Atlantic Reporter (N.H.) 905 (June 2, 1930)

This is a very lengthy and interesting discussion of the right of a child injured while employed by his father to sue his father for negligence. The question of the child's emancipation by his father and his employment by his father was involved. The facts were that the defendant was a contractor and builder; the plaintiff, a sixteen-year-old boy who lived at home and was still going to high school, agreed with his father to work during the summer vacation for the same wages paid other workmen, the value of his board being deducted. The father carried liability insurance, and in negotiations with the company the boy's wages were treated as

those of other workmen were treated. The court reviews at great length the argument for and against such a right, citing the authority and deciding in favor of the right. The comment of the court on the subject of family unity is so interesting as to justify quotation:

> The community family life is held together and its continuity assured by something finer than legal command. In the vast majority of cases, the corresponding filial and parental instincts are all-sufficient. Statutes imposing a duty to support are not for them. Such laws are for the rare exceptions; and no one suggests that they ought to be repealed because knowledge of their existence will make children unruly. The fear that the family structure will be undermined if the minor, while a member of the family, shall gain the right to sue, is not justified by such experience as we have. This appears to be the English view of the general question. "In this country, however, the law has not deemed it necessary to make such provision on the subject of the filial obligations." (2 Stephens Com. on the Laws of England 341.)

Foster Parents, Custody of Child: State ex rel. Stockstill v. Spiers et ux, 128 Southern Reporter (La.) 275 (March 31, 1930)

This is a habeas corpus case in which the father of a fifteen-month-old baby daughter, who had been given by the mother into the care of her great uncle, is trying to recover the custody of his child. The child's parents while still under age had been married in Mississippi on December 2, 1927; the child was born October 22, 1928; and the mother died at the home of her parents on November 13, 1929, giving the baby into the care of her uncle and aunt in whose home she had spent most of her life. The baby's father lived with his father, and his home was about as good as that of the mother's uncle, in whose home the child had spent most of her short life; and the lower court granted to the father the writ he asked. There was some contradictory testimony as to the father's character, while there was none as to the affection and competence of the foster parents in whose care the baby had been. The upper court therefore rejected the plea of paternal right and restored the baby to the great uncle, saying among other things:

> The fact remains however that he [the father] is a very young man with an unsettled nature and with no experience with caring for and raising children. He has no home of his own, and had no matrimonial domicile other than at his parents' home or the home of his wife's parents.
>
> He has no property, no money, and has not been able to keep and hold a permanent job. He got in debt before his wife died. At the time of the trial he was a helper to his father as a saw filer in a sawmill. He and his wife separated shortly after the child in question was conceived. He carried his wife to her

parents to live and he went to his parents, the only home he ever had. He tried to induce his wife to get rid of the child and sought information as to how to bring about an abortion.

Of course he denied this, but his denial is overcome by a preponderance of the evidence.

After the separation he told his wife when he went to see her at her mother's home that he did not love her and did not intend to live with her any more. And, after the baby was born, he visited the home of these defendants presumably to see the baby.

On one of these occasions he asked Mrs. Spiers if she did not think that Beatrice, his wife, ought to give him a divorce, that he was invited out to parties and he could not enjoy himself knowing he did not have a divorce.

In view of these circumstances and conditions we are constrained to believe that it would be hazarding the interest, welfare, and happiness of the child to take it away from these defendants and turn it over to the father.

Besides, as we have stated, the father had no home of his own in which to rear the child.

The opinion is interesting because of the number of citations to cases in which the principle is laid down that the child's interest outweighs considerations of the paternal right.

Custody of Child, Paternal Right: Wallick v. Vance, 289 Pacific Reporter (Utah) 103 (June 28, 1930)

This is another custody case in which the aunt of an eleven-year-old girl seeks to enjoin the child's father from interfering with the custody of the child until further order of the court. The child was born in Monroe, Louisiana, March 17, 1917. When she was less than a year old her mother died of tuberculosis. The child then lived with her father at the home of her maternal grandmother for about two months, after which the father took her to his mother's home in Memphis and gave her to the care of his mother, saying that if she could save the baby's life, she might have the child permanently. There was conflicting testimony as to the conditions under which the child lived with her grandmother, that is, as to the amount paid for her board and so forth; but there was no question of the child's receiving medical attention and the most affectionate nursing and care. In 1920 the father married a second time, lived with his wife at his mother's home for a time, and then moved into a home of his own, leaving the child still with her grandmother. The opinion states at length the facts of the case, the struggle of the grandmother to build up the child's health, the failure to accomplish this in Memphis, the removal of the aunt with the child to Utah, the unkind, violent, and untruthful conduct

of the father, reviews the authorities on the subject of the paternal right, and, applying the principle that the child's welfare must prevail, allows the child to remain with her aunt. The case is interesting, especially for the enumeration of these principles and its discussion of their application in determining the fate of this child.

Domestic Discord, Custody of Child: Fisher v. Fisher, 289 Pacific Reporter (Oregon) 1062 (July 10, 1930)

This is one of the innumerable cases of domestic discord in which the custody of an infant child is involved. On January 4, 1927, Roy Fisher had obtained a divorce from his wife, Emma Fisher, to whom, however, the custody of their little boy was awarded "as long as she properly cares for the child." On December 7, 1929, the decree was amended, awarding the custody to the father subject to the right of the mother "to visit the child and to have the child visit her if this could be done without interfering with his attendance at school." At this time the mother's sister intervened, and it appeared that the child had really been in her care during the period since the divorce. The situation was that the father had remarried, marrying a woman who had been divorced, that the mother had remarried a man of very limited means who earned his living by manual labor, and the aunt had moved to another town about a hundred miles away where she kept house for a widower with two children. Both the trial court and the supreme court thought that the changed circumstances justified the transfer of the child to his father's care. The court said, "In such controversies the guiding star for the court is the welfare of the minor child. The desires of parents who will bring about such a tragedy in the life of a child are of secondary importance."

Domestic Discord, Custody of Child: McLellan v. McLellan, 129 Southern Reporter (Ala.) 1 (June 5, 1930)

This is an action by a father against the mother of his four-and-a-half-year-old daughter to restrain her from interfering with his custody of the child. The mother was at the time living separate from the father, and in his first pleading the father had alleged no other fault on the part of the mother (see 220 Ala. 376, 125 So. 225) so that a demurrer to the bill had been sustained. He had then pleaded that the mother had abandoned his home without justification or legal excuse, without fault on his part and against his will and desire; and the question was whether in addition to this it was necessary to allege her unfitness to have the care and custody of the child. The lower court sustained a demurrer, taking the position that such an averment was essential; but the upper court, relying on the

principle that the child's welfare should be the determining factor and that the withdrawal of a wife and mother was not to be excused except when grave and compelling reasons brought it about, held that the averment was sufficient, reversed the lower court, and sent the case back for further consideration.

Charities, Endowments: Clark v. Watkins, 287 Pacific Reporter (Kansas) 244 (May 3, 1930)

The question in this case is whether a Masonic lodge is capable as a charitable organization of taking under a will and devoting property to charitable uses.

The facts were that one Warren Henry Crippen, who died in 1927, had executed a will leaving all his property to the Ancient Free and Accepted Masons in Arlington, Kansas.

The case is interesting chiefly because there had been at an earlier date (Kennett v. Kidd, 87 Kansas 652 [1912]) a bequest to a camp of Modern Woodmen, and their lodge had been found incapable of taking under the will, because by their charter of incorporation their source of income was limited to dues. The court distinguishes the status of the Masonic lodge from that of the Woodmen and finds the Masons capable of benefiting under the grant.

Charities, Endowments: Bank of Commerce and Trust Co. v. Banks and Others, 28 South Western Reporter (2d) (Tennessee) 340 (May 24, 1930)

The opinion in this case contains a lengthy statement with reference to the capacity of a Home for Incurables, incorporated "to provide by voluntary contributions a permanent home for persons afflicted with incurable physical disability or disease not malignant, contagious, or communicable" to receive a legacy the purpose of which was to enable the institution to construct an annex for cancer patients, the annex to be dedicated to the memory of the testator's brothers and sister. The principles expounded in the opinion of the court were that the equity courts of Tennessee favor charitable trusts, that only the state, not private individuals, could raise the question of *ultra vires*, i.e., whether or not the grant was outside the powers legitimately to be exercised by the institution. It should be said that an amending act had been passed by the legislature authorizing the Home to perform other services beside those mentioned in the original articles of incorporation.

Charities, Liability of Charitable Corporation: Eads v. Y.W.C.A., 29 South Western (2d) (Missouri) 701 (April 7, 1930)

In this case the question in issue is the greatly controverted one of the liability of a charitable corporation whose agents are charged with negligence resulting in damage, sometimes to an employee as in this case, sometimes to a patron as in the case of a pay patient in a hospital which is not a profit-seeking enterprise, and sometimes to a beneficiary. The courts are divided and neither the solution holding them liable nor that holding them exempt is satisfactory. Each time the question is raised, therefore, the court is tempted to review the argument to see whether the position taken in the particular jurisdiction is satisfactory.

In this case the injury was done to an employee, the elevator girl; negligence on the part of the Association in leaving exposed a bolt, by which the girl's clothes were caught, was acknowledged. The charitable character of the Association was in question because portions of the building served by the elevator were occupied by tenants who were not related to the work of the Association. It was shown, however, that the income from those tenants was used in carrying out the purposes of the organization.

The question is settled by every court on grounds of public policy. Arkansas, Colorado, Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, West Virginia, and Wisconsin think it better to exempt charitable corporations rather than have their funds depleted to the extent probable if they are held liable. On the other hand, in Michigan, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New York, Texas, charitable corporations are held liable when the injury is to an employee. The state of judicial opinion, as has been said, is so unsatisfied that each time the authorities are reviewed. In Missouri the doctrine was against the liability, but the court wished to reassure itself and the authorities are therefore again reviewed before the decision is reached to abide by the principle of *stare decisis* and let the employee pay the costs of the Association's failure in the carrying out of its benevolent purposes to safeguard its employees against accidents resulting in serious bodily suffering and injury.

Charities, Liability of Orphanage: Old Folks' and Orphan Children's Home of Church of Brethren of Middle District of Indiana v. Roberts, 171 North Eastern Reporter (Indiana) 10 (April 9, 1930)

The plaintiff in this case is a fourteen-year-old orphan boy who was committed by the circuit court to the Old Folks' and Orphan Children's

Home, which is incorporated "to better provide for and take care of poor and infirm members of said (———) church and orphan children of the same as may be duly admitted to the benefits of said home; to train up and properly educate said orphan children and to prepare them for the correct and proper discharge of the duties of life."

When he had been in the Home about six months his clothing was caught in an unguarded flywheel connected with the engine in a room next to the laundry of the institution. The engine was an eight-horsepower gasoline engine with a flywheel on each side and an electric dynamo. The engine was used for pumping water, running the washing machine, and for other purposes. About six weeks before the accident the boy who had cared for the engine left and told the plaintiff that he would have to do this in the future, and on Mondays, which were wash days, the plaintiff would get up between four and four-thirty in the morning, oil the engine, and build a fire under the boiler preparatory to washing. Other boys of the same age likewise worked about the engine. On the occasion of this accident the boy's clothing was caught on the engine, his arm torn off, his leg broken, and he suffered other injuries. It was alleged that the business manager, the superintendent, the matron, and the caretaker told him to perform these tasks and that the trustees knew of the practice of using the boys and knew of the unguarded condition of the machinery.

An action was brought charging negligence in leaving the machinery unguarded and in the selection of the officers of the institution. At the first trial the defendant home demurred and the demurrer was sustained by the lower court; on appeal, however, the higher court ordered a new trial, the plaintiff secured a change of venue, a trial by jury, and an award of damages. The Home then appealed. The interesting questions for social workers are (1) whether or not there is a duty of care in selecting the manager which had not been exercised, (2) whether the fact that the charitable institution acts as agent for the state relieves it of liability for negligence resulting in injury. This was answered in the negative. There are other questions of procedure and evidence which need not be noted. The social worker who reads the case wishes that the amount of damages awarded might incidentally have been mentioned!

Charities, School Funds: Trustees Stewart Common School Fund v. Lewis, 28 South Western Reporter 27, 234 Ky. 286 (March 14, 1930)

This case will not be summarized. It would interest any student concerned to know in what way public-spirited citizens may attempt to arouse interest in the school systems of poor counties where both education and the use of resources need stimulation.

Desertion, Liability of Husband and Father: Lowing v. Lowing, 150 Atlantic (New Jersey) 824 (January, 1930)

The defendant in this case is a jeweler able to earn $75 to $80 a week, who failed to provide for his wife and child. He was therefore indicted and pleaded guilty to the crime of desertion, when he was put on probation and ordered to pay $12 a week to his wife. After this order was entered, he went to Chicago and procured a fraudulent divorce, which was set aside, and his wife, who was sick and unable to work, filed a complaint in the juvenile court, alleging that the amount was inadequate and asking that she be allowed $6.00 additional under a juvenile court order. There were two questions considered by the upper court: (1) whether the juvenile court could take jurisdiction when the defendant was subject to the order of the criminal court, that is, whether he could be made both civilly and criminally liable, and it was held that he could; (2) whether $12 a week was adequate when his earning capacity and the condition of her health were taken into consideration. The court held that the amount of $18 was not an unreasonable amount from either point of view.

Delinquency: Jackson v. State, 286 Pacific Reporter (Arizona) 824 (June 11, 1930)

In this case the defendant was convicted of contributing to the delinquency of a child on an information which alleged that by having intercourse with a child between fourteen and sixteen years of age, defendant contributed to the child's delinquency without alleging that she was delinquent. On appeal the judgment was reversed and remanded for further proceedings on the ground that in such a case the information should allege that the child was delinquent and show in what ways the child's conduct came within the statutory definition of the term "delinquent child," namely, a "child under eighteen years of age including such children as have been designated 'incorrigible children' who may be charged with the violation of a law of the state or the ordinance of a town or city."

Adoption: In re Jackson, 232 North Western Reporter (Wisconsin) 158 (April 14, 1930)

In this case the question arose as to whether an aunt or a grandparent is the more suitable person to receive a child for adoption.

The child, Ronald Jackson, was born October 10, 1927. On September 3, 1929, both parents were killed in an automobile accident. September 25, 1929, Mrs. Ulrick, a sister of the child's father, filed a petition in which her husband joined, asking that the child be given her for adoption. On October 4, 1929, the mother's parents likewise filed a petition asking

for the child. Both petitions were set for hearing, and the state Board of Control was notified. The Board reported both homes suitable, and the court awarded the custody of the child to the paternal aunt, Mrs. Ulrick. The court weighed the advantages of the maternal grandmother's custody, moved as it would be by the sense that the grandchild was replacing her lost daughter, and considered the possibility of the Ulricks, who were a young couple married only two years and therefore likely to have children of their own, where this baby might seem a stepchild. The youth of these foster parents, however, really prevailed with the court. The grandparents appealed, but the judgment of the lower court was affirmed. To the plea of the grandparents that they were the natural guardians of the child with the rights of a guardian the court said, "In Wisconsin no one has rights in the custody of a child superior to the right of the child to have its best interest and welfare provided."

Adoption: Shaver v. Nash, 29 South Western Reporter (2d) (Ark.) 298 (June 23, 1930)

This case is interesting from the point of view of interstate relationships as illustrated by differences in the adoption statutes of the several states. It appears that Mr. and Mrs. Nash adopted, January 15, 1915, under the statute of Texas the defendant in this action, a minor represented here by a guardian *ad litem*. They afterwards moved to Arkansas, and Mr. Nash died August 25, 1921. On October 6, 1908, seven years before the adoption was consummated, Mr. Nash had made a will, bequeathing all his property to Mrs. Nash. On May 27, 1927, this action was begun to set aside the adoption proceedings in order to remove a cloud on the title of some of Mrs. Nash's property growing out of the uncertainty as to the rights of the adopted child.

The facts are that the Texas adoption proceeding was by deed only and that the consequence of the proceeding is not to cut the child off from his natural parents and if the adoptive parents have children later, the amount to be inherited by the adoptive child is not more than one-fourth of the estate of the adoptive parents. Under the Arkansas statute, however, adoption cuts the child off from the natural ties and substitutes the new ties giving express rights of inheritance. In this case the lower court and the upper court confirmed the view that the adoption in Texas was valid, but that it did not bestow on the adopted child the right of inheritance in Arkansas, and the decree annulled the adoption and quieted the widow's title as the will executed before the adoption prescribed.

NOTES AND COMMENT

THREE different schools of social work have announced the publication of three new series of publications. The New York School of Social Work has just issued a volume on *The Dependent Child*, by Dr. Henry W. Thurston of the School faculty, and a volume of Forbes lectures given at the School by Professor Amy Hewes, entitled *The Contribution of Economics to Social Work*. The National Catholic School of Social Service, Washington, D.C., has begun the publication of a series of "Social Science Monographs" including No. 1, *The Measurement of Home Conditions*, and No. 3, *A Scale for Measuring Social Adequacy*, both by Mary J. McCormick, and No. 2, *Studies in Child Welfare*, by Marguerite M. Eisemann and others. The Smith College School for Social Work has issued Volume I, No. 1, of *Smith College Studies in Social Work*, a quarterly publication to contain student theses in the fields of social psychiatry, social work, sociology, and psychology. The *Social Service Review* extends a cordial welcome to these publications which show a new interest on the part of the professional schools in social research.

THE Seventh Meeting of the Permanent Conference (of Private Associations) for the Protection of Migrants was held in Geneva last September. Organized in 1924, this important Conference has completed its period of experimentation and has been occupied during the past year with plans for reorganization, looking toward possibly more efficient work covering a wider range of service. At the recent Conference thirty-eight different organizations were represented by forty-two delegates from ten different countries. The International Labour Office and the Social Section of the League of Nations Secretariat also sent delegates. The Foreign Language Information Service of New York, the Immigrants' Protective League of Chicago, and the American Social Hygiene Association were the three American organizations represented. Of the other associations, there were seven international societies with headquarters in Switzerland.

Two figures conspicuous in other congresses were absent. M. Clouzet, who has been president from the time of the organization, has been compelled by other obligations to resign; and Mr. Lucien Wolff, who had much to do with the organization and was deeply interested in the plans for reorganization, died just before the recent Conference assembled. Prof.

Louis Varlez was again a dynamic influence in the discussions of the Conference. The meeting was held in one of the beautiful assembly rooms of the International Labour Office; and M. Albert Thomas, director of the Office, spoke vigorously, as usual, of the value to the Office of the co-operative support of the Association.

The Conference was occupied by some very interesting questions on which further recommendation are to be presented by the Executive Committee to the Conference of 1931.

Briefly, the problems were as follows: First, there are numerous emigrants whose families remain in the country of origin who are no longer contributing to the support of those families. The Conference discussed methods of securing the fulfilment of the marital and parental obligation of the non-supporting migrant heads of families. The effort to secure contributions to the support of their families from husbands and fathers who have emigrated often involves the use of judicial process in one country for the enforcement of the laws of another. Obviously such international activity must rest either on the establishment of an international tribunal accessible to the citizens or subjects of separate jurisdictions, similar to those provided by the United States courts for citizens of different states, or upon treaty arrangements by which one jurisdiction agrees to enforce the decrees of a court of another jurisdiction. In a few cases, treaties of this character have been recently adopted; but neither of these methods seems applicable to the situation in the United States, where perhaps the largest numbers of defaulting husbands and fathers are to be found. The legal aspects of this question may be investigated by the Social Section of the League of Nations; and the Executive Committee of the Conference was requested to continue its study of the subject with special reference to the possibility of widening the use of social case work methods both before and after the emigration of the head of the family and relying more on education and assistance and less on the use of the drastic procedures of the criminal law.

Other questions were (1) the recruiting and placement of workers in other countries than that of their country of origin; (2) the application of mental tests to prospective emigrants, especially with reference to "family testing" and to a better adaptation of the tests to adult persons or to young persons from European environmental conditions; (3) the compulsory insurance of migrants while in passage from their homes to their places of destination; (4) the question of emigrants returning to their country of origin in a condition of destitution; (5) equality of treatment of aliens in the matter of social insurance.

THE danger that social work will be misrepresented in fiction and the drama by gifted writers who do not understand the problems, objectives, and methods of our professional groups has been illustrated in Germany by Lampel's play, *Revolte im Erziehungshaus*, which was presented last year and which purported to expose alleged mismanagement, cruelty, and irregular sex practices in reform schools. The play aroused much comment, although the picture drawn was entirely out of perspective and one of the best institutions of the kind in Germany had been taken as the scene of the play. Critics of the play said that cigarettes were used to bribe the boys to secure stories of abuse, and the incentive was strong to manufacture stories and to embroider incidents. As has happened at times in this country in somewhat similar cases, one of the results of the alleged "exposure" has been a careful re-examination by some of the thoughtful social workers in Germany of the whole reformatory situation. A discussion of problems of the reform schools has been stimulated, and articles on the subject have appeared in German magazines devoted to child welfare. An excellent German child welfare magazine (*Zentralblatt für Jugendrecht und Jugendwohlfahrt*) has recently printed two reports from juveniles criticizing the reform schools of which they were former inmates. The shock of the first few days, impersonality, supervision over the mail, inadequacy of so-called self-government, separate dietaries for masters and inmates, and weakening of the will through severe discipline were the specific evils brought out in the boys' reports.

PROFESSOR MOLLIE RAY CARROLL'S return to social work and the fellowship of the professional schools has been cordially welcomed on all sides. Dr. Carroll was a member of the faculty of the Chicago School from 1918 to 1920, when she helped to organize the emergency course in industrial service given during the war and remained as an instructor in the field of industrial aspects of social work. For the last ten years Dr. Carroll has been professor and head of the Department of Economics and Sociology in Goucher College. Two years ago she received a Guggenheim Fellowship and spent fifteen months in Germany studying unemployment insurance. Her book on this subject, which was published by the Brookings Institution, is now in a second edition; and a smaller volume on the Austrian unemployment insurance system, which is also to appear in the Brookings series, is in press. Her earlier book on *Labor and Politics* is also well and favorably known to the socially minded.

Dr. Carroll has now left Goucher to accept an appointment as Associate

Professor of Social Economy in the Graduate School of Social Service of the University of Chicago and to become the new head resident of the University of Chicago Settlement. Formerly chairman of the Committee on Women in Industry of the National League of Women Voters, Dr. Carroll has immediately accepted the chairmanship of the Women in Industry Committee of the Illinois League. Her fine qualities of leadership, her generous spirit of service, and her wide knowledge and interest in the field of industry combine to make her a valuable addition to the Chicago Settlement group as well as to the University Faculty.

DOLES OR MOTHERS' AID

UNEMPLOYMENT continues to press upon us with increasing severity. Many social workers have always felt that a genuinely preventive scheme, some method of controlling industry which would so regulate employment as to safeguard the worker, would be worked out by the employers and the economists. Many have hoped that the European system, which is virtually relief and not bona fide insurance at all, might be avoided with all the demoralizing consequences of idleness.

But nothing can be worse than the situation in which we find ourselves with hungry people facing the advent of the winter months. Any form of insurance, whether relief in disguise or not, is, after all, less demoralizing than hunger and cold—less demoralizing, too, than hastily raised "relief funds" distributed by a hastily assembled corps of workers.

At this time thought may well be given to the proposal which the chief of the United States Children's Bureau set out in the *New York Times* in an interview last November, in which she calls for the extension of the mothers' aid allowances during periods like the present. If we are to have relief, there is merit in this system which will regulate relief according to family needs and on the basis of safeguarding children. Mothers' aid allowances have the merit of coming from taxes, and the burden of paying them cannot be put on the generous and evaded by those who habitually shirk their responsibilities. Miss Grace Abbott outlined in some detail in the *New York Times* the plan she has been advocating over the radio. She thinks our experience with mothers' aid laws is "directly in point" at the present emergency.

> With the mothers' aid families [she said] poverty due to the loss of the wage-earners' wages is the sole problem. So it is with the families of men who in this period of depression are out of work. Using the experience of the last twenty years we could build a relief program flexible enough to meet the needs of the period if the unemployment of fathers, as well as their sickness or death, were made under the law a cause for which aid to mothers could be given.

Some cities have met the present condition of unemployment in a fairly adequate way, have planned, on the basis of its probable magnitude and duration to mitigate, at least, the inevitable suffering. But this has not happened in all cities. A gradual expansion of the resources of the mothers' aid department, had the law permitted it, would have met the physical needs and saved the self-respect of jobless men's families.

One of the advantages of a Federal form of government according to Bryce, is that it makes possible social and political experiments involving relatively small areas and populations. I hope that a number of states will be willing to try the experiment of adding unemployment to the list of conditions on which mothers' assistance can be given. I hope some of them will plan to give relief before the family has passed over into the abyss of destitution, before their last possessions and their independence are gone.

This would not mean that pensions would be given for every unemployed father or mother. Every widowed mother does not get a pension. It is not hers by right; it is only given when it is necessary to preserve the home and the home is worth preserving. Such a law would not mean that schemes for prevention, for expansion of public works, for employer and employee agreements as to payments for periods of unemployment would become any less important. It would only mean that when all these fail and relief becomes necessary a public agency would be authorized and prepared to prevent children of the unemployed from being subjected to pauper relief or no relief at all.

LONDON'S POST-WAR DECLINE IN JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

AN INTERESTING statement regarding the post-war decline in juvenile court cases appears in a valuable little book[1] dealing with the special services in the London County Council Schools, prepared by the London County Council's education officer and the school medical officer (Dr. Kay Menzies).

The book describes the excellent school medical service of London and the fine social work of the so-called care committees. The social workers in the council schools who are called "care committee workers" but who correspond with our so-called visiting teachers and vocational guidance counselors are used for such social work as the adoption of children, since the Council acts as guardian *ad litem* under the adoption act[2] of 1926. It

[1] *The Special Services of Education in London.* Perhaps the subtitle of the book better indicates its contents: *An Account of the Measures Directed to the Health and Welfare of Children Attending London Elementary Schools, and to the Care of Those Who Are Defective, Neglected, or Delinquent.* With a Foreword by G. H. Gater and F. N. Kay Menzies. (London: Hodder & Stoughton, Ltd., Publishers to the University of London Press, Ltd., 1929. Pp. xiv, 140. 1*s.* 6*d.*) The volume is one of a series issued by the University of London Press describing the work of the London County Council.

[2] See this *Review*, IV, 53, "The English Adoption Law," by Earl D. Myers.

is encouraging also to find that the London County Council is concerned on an educational basis with work for juvenile delinquents.

Juvenile delinquency in London increased rapidly during the war, rising from approximately 3,600 cases in the juvenile courts in 1914 to something over 5,100 in 1917. In 1927 the number had fallen to 1,700, and the writers say that their graph "indicates clearly the decrease in the amount of juvenile 'crime' in London which so fortunately characterises present-day conditions. The decline is more pronounced in committals to industrial schools, and this decline is due to improved social conditions in London, particularly amongst children."

The further comment of the authors on the obvious post-war decline indicated by their graph is interesting:

> Whether or not the general standard of living to-day is above the pre-War scale, extremes of poverty have been modified by more systematic schemes of insurance, pensions, and Poor Law relief. A higher standard of education and social values has been built up. The present generation of parents has itself been through the elementary schools, and a more enlightened understanding of parental responsibility has developed. Truancy has fallen off as methods of instruction have become more enlightened and, consequently, more highly esteemed. Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, school journeys, the development of school sport, facilities for continued education, have furnished healthy outlets for youthful energies and enthusiasms. Welfare clinics, the school medical service, and other agencies working for better physical conditions, have all contributed to an improvement which is still noticeably gathering momentum.
>
> Another factor in the decline in the number of children sent to industrial and reformatory schools has been the development of the probation system. In 1910, 3.1 per cent of young offenders in London were placed on probation; in 1920 the percentage had risen to about 28, and in 1927 to about 39. . . . .
>
> Dr. Cyril Burt, the psychologist in the Education Officer's Department of the London County Council, in his book, *The Young Delinquent* (University of London Press), has written an informative account of the distribution of juvenile delinquency.[1]
>
> The incidence of delinquency is highest in the poverty-ridden areas north of the City. "Anyone acquainted with the purlieus of St. Luke's, and of the neighbouring parishes in Clerkenwell," says Dr. Burt, "will realise how suitably and centrally situated these districts lie as a strategic base for nefarious projects of every kind. . . . ."
>
> The general conclusion reached by Dr. Burt is that, in the main, the poorest quarters furnish the greatest number of young delinquents. At the same time, other social factors, such as the concentration of London amusements in the

[1] A map which is reproduced from Dr. Burt's book shows for each area the relation between the number of delinquents and the school population.

West End play an important part. Above all, such general "explanations" of delinquency can never do more than supplement the intensive study of causes in individual cases.

In the 'eighties and early 'nineties Charles Booth's great inquiry into the social life of the people of London revealed conditions of which the following is a typical description:

"Their life is the life of savages," wrote Mr. Booth of the lowest class in the social scale,[1] "with vicissitudes of extreme hardship and occasional excess. . . . . From these come the battered figures who slouch through the streets, and play the beggar or the bully, or help to foul the record of the unemployed. . . . . It is much to be desired that this class may become less hereditary in its character. There appears to be no doubt that it is now hereditary to a very considerable extent. The children are the street arabs and are to be found separated from the parents in pauper or industrial schools."

Today another survey of social conditions is being undertaken, with official support, by the London School of Economics and Political Science. A new "poverty map" will be drawn, and it will be seen whether slumdom has decreased or whether it has been spread more widely over the face of London. But what will be established beyond dispute is that, largely as a result of social legislation and the amelioration work described in this book, the "savage" life described by Charles Booth has now passed away, and that civilization has spread even into these dark corners of Christendom.

COMMUNITY COUNCILS IN ACTION

UNDER the foregoing title the Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania has recently published a report based on a study made by Arthur Dunham of the functions of councils in thirty-three cities. The purpose of the study was to compare the objectives of community councils in various cities and to learn what they are contributing by way of tangible accomplishment.

A summary of the activities in which councils are engaged should remove any doubt as to the part these organizations are playing in community life. Most of them, of course, carry on surveys ranging in importance from tentative experiments to very comprehensive undertakings, such as the study of income and expenditures of social agencies which has for some time been a major project in New York. In seventeen of the thirty-three cities the council operates the social service exchange. In a few cities other common services have been developed, such as joint purchasing or joint bookkeeping. The trend toward central housing of

[1] Charles Booth, *Life and Labour in London*, p. 38, First Series, Vol. I (Macmillan & Co., 1902).

all non-institutional agencies is a council-inspired movement. Several cities owe their first directory of social agencies to their council. New and effective attacks have been launched on the perennial problem of higher professional standards. Scores of committees have been set up to deal with special problems such as street begging, illegitimacy, housing, family budgets.

It is easier to describe programs than to point out concrete results. To enumerate the number of studies completed indicates activity but not necessarily accomplishment. Yet here too the councils need not rely wholly upon subjective appraisals. Definite machinery has often been developed, such as a clearing house of applications for admission to homes for the aged. Specific enactments have sometimes been obtained from state legislatures. Development of facilities for training workers has occasionally been attempted. In brief the record of actual work done no less than the scope of activity envisaged for the future seems to justify Mr. Dunham's conclusions that "the community council occupies a strategic position in the community as regards social statesmanship and community engineering," and that "the effectiveness of a council does not necessarily depend upon whether or not it is connected with a community chest."

A. W. McM.

SOCIAL INSURANCE IN GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

FINANCIAL difficulties encountered by the Austrian unemployment insurance system have given rise to a movement for reform of the unemployment insurance act. The Austrian act, passed in March, 1920, has already been amended twenty-three times. Some of the earlier amendments, however, did nothing more than make the changes in rates necessitated by the inflation. The draft of the twenty-fourth amendment, which has been presented to Parliament, tends to follow German legislation in reducing duration of benefits to seasonal workers and in lengthening time required to establish eligibility. The draft carries further the principle of classification of risks already recognized by the Austrian law, and it seeks to abolish extended benefits. A most important point is that benefits are specifically limited to necessitous persons, a procedure permitted by the present act and generally practiced.

In Germany, mounting costs of health insurance have given rise to much concern. The increased costs are said to be due in part to the scope of the membership, greater incidence of sickness following the war, and the severe post-war conditions; in part, however, the increased costs are

properly chargeable to increased services and the higher costs of medical attention and medicine. Whatever the cause, the health insurance is reported to have made a serious effort to retrench. Health insurance in Germany today covers twenty-two million members and fifteen million more family dependents. In 1929 it cost 2.2 billion marks, or about $500,000,000, as against half a billion marks in 1913 and 1.3 billion in 1925. Since 1925 costs have risen at the rate of nearly 200,000,000 marks, or $50,000,000, annually. Premium rates for unemployment insurance in Germany, originally set at 3 per cent of the wages, contributed equally by employees and workers, have now been raised temporarily to 6½ per cent of the wages. The advent of unemployment insurance has brought the costs of social insurance in Germany up to about 16 per cent of the wages bill. With the necessity for increasing payments to unemployment insurance, there is a corresponding effort to reduce those for health insurance. Consequently, last July an emergency measure was passed in an effort to reduce the unnecessary use of the health insurance system by the insured person by requiring him to pay a small fee for each visit to a doctor and another small fee for medicine. Other changes included changed provisions concerning the waiting period, somewhat limited money benefits, and improvements in procedure and administration.

M. R. C.

GERMANY PROMOTES MATERNITY CARE

THREE important investigations dealing with the effect of factory work on the health of women which have recently been published by the German Ministry of Labor are of interest in other countries. One inquiry into the effect of factory work upon maternity and child health, covered nearly 3,000 women in a maternity home in Düsseldorf. The second included 2,700 women in Breslau, largely engaged in the textile industry. The third, which covered pregnant women in Westphalia who were recipients of maternity care and benefits through the health insurance fund (*Krankenkasse*), gave special attention to industrial home workers, although women in other occupations were also included.

The Düsseldorf study, which compared 2,202 factory workers with 708 women in more favorable economic conditions, presented its findings to the effect that women employed in occupations requiring standing or walking experienced difficulties in childbirth more frequently and more persistently than those not so employed. Those in occupations requiring constant standing were delivered in childbirth more speedily than those in occupations requiring sitting or than those not gainfully employed;

their children, however, were smaller at birth. Occupations involving constant sitting seemed to result in more premature births and higher infant death-rates. Infant death-rate after the sixth week, also, was higher among children of mothers who returned to work than among those who stayed at home.

The Breslau study sought in part to determine the effects of work in the textiles upon the health of young women aged fourteen to twenty. The conclusions were that factory work retarded the entire physical development and particularly the pelvic development in a manner that later affected childbirth unfavorably. Textile workers in the group studied were found to have had more stillborn children than others, although the cause of this condition was not definitely determined. General wage levels and undernourishment were thought to be contributing causes.

The Westphalian study showed the evil effects of work during the last months of pregnancy to be so serious that the investigators stressed the necessity of prohibiting work for women for at least six weeks before childbirth.

A NEW POOR LAW FOR ENGLAND

THE break-up of the English poor-law system is described in an article in the present issue of this *Review* by Mr. Pringle, the secretary of the London Charity Organisation Society. The old boards of poor-law guardians have ceased to exist, and their functions have been transferred to the county councils; but how far the old poor law has been changed by the new administration is still a question. The *New Statesman* on the eve of transition from the old to the new made some interesting comments from which we quote briefly:

> The Guardians are dead; and the famous Poor Law of 1834 is definitely at an end. . . . . It remains to be seen how far the spirit of the new Public Assistance will differ from that of the old Poor Law. That there will be great changes in those parts of the service—schools, hospitals, and the like—that can now be co-ordinated with the general services of health and education in the hands of the local authorities, goes without saying. But how much better a job will the county borough and county councils make of the treatment of the able-bodied man than the Guardians were able to make? The new authorities have certainly a far better chance of handling this part of the problem aright; for it should be easier for them to make use of the services of able-bodied applicants for relief, and to provide both training and education and restorative employment in suitable cases instead of mere doles. The issue by the Ministry of Health of a new order providing for this accompanies the change of system; and we hope it will be done, carefully at first, but on an increasing scale. It will, of course, achieve even so little for the main body of the unemployed, who are

not in receipt of poor relief. But the numbers of able-bodied men in receipt of relief are not negligible, and the new system should at least permit of interesting and productive experiment.

American social workers may not agree with Mr. Pringle, but at any rate, they will be glad to know what he thinks of the present outlook in poor-law affairs.

ITALIAN UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE EXPERIMENTS

EFFORTS made in Italy to provide educational opportunities for the unemployed are discussed in a recent number of *Difesa sociale.* The undertakings, which were of an experimental character, were under the direction of the Cassa Nazionale per le Assicurazioni Sociali (National Bureau for Social Insurance). The original law relating to social insurance was amended in December, 1923, in such a way that payment of the unemployment benefit could be made dependent upon regular attendance at training courses.

The first experiment attempted was in 1928 in Turin, where during the winter of that year there were about 10,000 unemployed. The instruction was both theoretical and practical. The practical work was in the field of mechanics, carpentry, and ironfounding. The students were selected from among those in the age group sixteen to thirty years who did not already have special trade skills.

The results of the first effort, small though it was in scale, were considered satisfactory. A total of 507 unemployed were enrolled, and of this number 400 succeeded in learning a trade.

In addition to those regularly enrolled, 140 unemployed men attended the courses who either were not entitled to unemployment benefit or else had exhausted their benefit. The attendance of these latter groups was of course wholly voluntary.

An appraisal of the results achieved the first year indicated four needed modifications of the plan: (1) the number of trades taught was too limited; (2) the classes in the morning and afternoon interfered with the search for employment and should therefore be shifted to the evening hours; (3) the regular unemployment benefit should be supplemented by an additional allowance to cover the train fare to and from the school; (4) the unemployed should be considered and treated, not as special cases, but as ordinary students with the same privileges and obligations as the regularly enrolled students of the school.

With this experience as a guide, a second series of courses was held in

1929–30. The scope of the courses was broadened, but the number admitted was reduced to 308. Of this number approximately 200 succeeded in mastering a trade.

An outstanding difficulty apparently was the lack of provision for vocational guidance. The usual amount of effort was wasted in trying to fit square pegs into round holes. The experience also revealed the need of improved performance on the part of the labor exchanges, especially with respect to the "individualizing" of placements on the basis of the applicants' interests and abilities.

The author points out that the schools were in no sense a preventive of unemployment. He does believe, however, that regular courses of instruction are an asset in bolstering the morale of the unemployed. He concludes by recommending the extension of the plan followed at Turin to all the other industrial centers of the kingdom.

CONVICT LABOR AND ORGANIZED LABOR

PRESIDENT WILLIAM GREEN, of the American Federation of Labor, issued a statement (in the *New York Times*) of labor's opposition to the use of convict labor for goods which may be sold in the market in competition with the products of free labor. The immediate occasion of President Green's restatement of the Federation's position was the holding of two shiploads of Russian pulp wood in New York Harbor and the raising of the prison-labor charge which President Green calls "a fundamental issue of vital concern to labor." It was charged that Russia was "dumping pulp wood in our markets produced by political prisoners forced to work in lumber camps." This charge was followed by a report that American manganese mines would have to close because they were unable to compete with the manganese mined by Russian convicts. The following paragraphs from President Green's statement are of general interest:

> Contract prison labor has all too often been the cause of pollution throughout the whole political life of the State. Selling below cost disorganizes the market and the industry. Selling below cost is a practice some business undertakings inaugurate in order to get a strategic advantage in the industry. It is an investment on which they expect to get large profits later. It does not benefit the consumer, who must later more than pay back the differential by paying higher prices later and through the economic disturbance reflected throughout the industrial structure, by selling at less than cost. . . . .
>
> In addition to our economic reasons for opposition to competition of convict-made goods with the products of free labor, we have an obligation to work out the best standards and practices for convict labor. We believe that work is crea-

tive and an uplifting constructive force, and that every penal institution should provide work opportunities for all inmates. But this need of convicts should be taken care of without injury to free workers or exploitation of prisoners.

Organized labor has opposed the practice of permitting manufacturers to contract for prison labor, thus reducing labor costs to the necessities of convicts. It has opposed the use of prison labor in other than goods for State use. We have worked for State laws preventing prison-made goods from competing with the products of free labor in State markets.

The Hawes-Cooper Act was commended by President Green as an effort to take care of the problems due to a state's inability to control goods shipped into its jurisdiction and the necessity of federal legislation enabling states to control goods produced by convicts in other states. The Hawes-Cooper Act "deprived prison-made goods of the usual privileges of interstate commerce and enables each State to protect its free citizens." While President Green describes the Hawes-Cooper Act as "a constructive national policy," he strongly believes in its extension by safeguarding our free labor from competition with the products of prison labor of foreign countries—a beginning having been made in this direction by the provision in the tariff law of 1922, which barred articles manufactured by convicts from entrance through our ports.

A provision in the 1930 Tariff Act, which received the support of the American Federation of Labor and which goes even farther than the 1922 act, was also cited by President Green. This provides that "all goods, wares, articles and merchandise mined, produced or manufactured wholly or in part in any foreign country by convict labor" shall not be entitled to entry at any American port. It also provides that in 1932 a still more sweeping exclusion will bar the products of forced and indentured labor.

President Green also called attention to the fact that there

exists throughout the world distress and physical suffering because of widespread unemployment. Reports from Europe place unemployment at 6,000,000. We estimate the United States has about 3,700,000 out of work. Unemployment is serious in Asia and South Africa. In the face of this situation should exploitation of convict labor add to the burdens of free labor?

He added that in his opinion any decision upon this issue had no relation to our policy regarding recognition of the Soviet government.

BOOK REVIEWS

Corporation Contributions to Organized Community Welfare Services. By PIERCE WILLIAMS and FREDERICK E. CROXTON. New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc., 1930. Pp. 347.

The campaign chairman of a community chest in a western city pleaded unavailingly last year with the manager of a chain retail system to quadruple his company's $50 subscription. The local manager insisted that he had no authority to increase the amount. Subsequent investigation showed that the twelve local stores included in the chain had in the preceding campaign, when they were still owned by individual proprietors, contributed approximately $800 to the community chest "drive."

This incident illustrates on a small scale a problem that has in recent years been assuming increasing importance. Mergers in industry and in merchandising have been the order of the day. The small proprietor with a stake in the community has been giving place to the absentee owner with a sole eye to mounting profits. Meanwhile social agencies, with important sources of revenue dwindling, have been faced with unprecedented need for larger budgets.

To compensate for this decrease in revenue, community chests have sought new sources of income. This search led to the doors of the big corporations. Here an anomalous situation was found. Some corporations gave generously, wanted to give, and had for years been contributing to local welfare projects. Others asserted that they could not give away money that rightfully belonged in the stockholders' dividend account. The result was an unequal assumption of responsibility for community welfare that was repugnant to ideals of fair play.

Recognition of these inequities convinced leaders both in the community chests and in the big corporations that a thorough examination of the entire question was needed. Together they assembled finances to undertake a study. The National Bureau of Economic Research, which accepted the task of conducting the investigation, entrusted the project to Pierce Williams and Frederick E. Croxton, who are the authors of the present report.

The investigation indicated not only that there is no settled tradition with regard to corporation giving, but also that among corporations which do give there is bewilderment as to a suitable basis for determining the amount that should be contributed. Some corporations take the view that they can contribute only in the "interests of the stockholders." This means that gifts to charitable enterprises must be justified—usually on the ground that needed services such as hospital care are thereby assured to employees. Hence, the directors are more likely to give in a community where they have a large manu-

facturing establishment than in one where they have merely a sales office. The plea that the sales force is making money for the corporation is answered by the statement that trade is an exchange of values and is of equal benefit to both parties.

Very little is known of the extent to which corporation employees are benefitted by the community chest. It does seem clear that among the chest agencies there are some to which corporations would not usually contribute under the pre-war plan of individual agency campaigns. But since social work in a vast majority of American cities is now supported by the community-chest plan, often the corporation, if it decides to support the welfare program, must do so through the central federation. In a very few instances corporations have been supplied with statistics indicating the number of their employees that were served by local social agencies during the preceding year. These figures do not necessarily reveal the size of contribution the corporation should make beyond perhaps establishing that a niggardly gift in the preceding year was too small in proportion to the benefits received. More often corporations have known nothing of the extent to which the services of the social agencies were being utilized by their employees and gifts have often been determined mainly by the interests and personal biases of the directors.

The most recent figures contained in the book pertain to the year 1929. In that year nearly sixty million dollars was raised by community chests, in 129 cities. Twenty-two per cent of this total was contributed by corporations. The total number of corporation contributions was roughly 34,000. Nearly half of all corporation contributions were received from the manufacturing industries. Retail and wholesale trade contributed 22 per cent, banks and trust companies 10 per cent. Chain stores are credited with only 3 per cent of the total corporation gifts and transportation industries with less than 2 per cent.

Continuous data covering a period of ten years were obtained from the community chests in thirteen cities. The absolute amounts contributed by corporations increased during this decade, but the proportion which corporation gifts bear to total gifts suffered a small decrease. In other words, it appears that everyone has been giving larger amounts each year, but that private contributors have responded somewhat more liberally than corporations. The authors refrain from drawing conclusions from these data. In their introductory chapter they state that they have sought only to assemble the facts. Upon corporation officials and community welfare administrators must devolve the duty of interpreting these facts and using them as a basis for a more satisfactory plan of corporation support.

The report contains some interesting historical material, particularly with regard to the Y.M.C.A. and to the war drives of the American Red Cross. Apparently the Y.M.C.A. is the originator of the now familiar plan of an annual campaign conducted by volunteers organized after the fashion of military units. Corporation gifts to philanthropy are traced back to these pre-war campaigns of the Y.M.C.A. During the war, corporation giving expanded. There is the sug-

gestion that this growth would have been lost if the community chest movement, developing at the strategic moment, had not salvaged it. This conclusion seems to be borne out by the experiences of the non-chest cities, such as New York, Chicago, and Boston, where corporation giving seems to be less widespread than in community-chest cities. It would be interesting if this study of voluntary giving could be supplemented by an analysis of the support of public welfare services by corporations through the local tax rates.

A. W. McMillen

University of Chicago

Mexican Immigration to the United States. By Manuel Gamio. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930. Pp. xviii+262. $3.00.

Mexican Labor in the United States, Valley of the South Platte, Colorado ("University of California Publications in Economics," Vol. VI, No. 2, pp. 95–235). By Paul S. Taylor. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1929. $1.80.

Tepoztlán, A Mexican Village. A Study of Folk Life ("University of Chicago Publications in Anthropology," Ethnological Series). By Robert Redfield. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930. Pp. xi+237. $3.00.

These three volumes represent a fine contribution by social science scholarship to a serious national problem, and it is significant that the writers of all three of these volumes were assisted by the Social Science Research Council. The effect of immigration from Mexico to the United States upon national life of both countries, as well as upon the immigrant, is deserving of wide study. Dr. Gamio, a distinguished Mexican scholar, has described the immigrant's racial characteristics and his physical and cultural background, showing how intimately they are bound up with his successful adjustment to the new environmental situation in America. Social and economic aspects are presented from the point of view of both employer and immigrant, and a warning note is sounded that there are human aspects which cannot be overlooked. The author points out that the present immigration policy should cause grave concern because of the resultant evil effects upon social and national life. While to clamp down suddenly the lid of the quota might be calamitous in more ways than one, Dr. Gamio's study seems to have left him in no doubt as to the undesirability of the present unrestricted policy. His solution is that permanent immigration should be restricted, but that temporary or transient immigration, which is, of course, the immigration of agricultural laborers at seasonal periods, should be encouraged, governed entirely by the law of supply and demand. All will not agree with his solution, but his investigation has revealed conditions which add weight to a growing conviction that some solution of the present problem is urgent.

In view of the labor situation in the beet-sugar industry, Professor Paul Taylor's study will be welcomed by all socially minded individuals. Scarcely noticed by the great mass of our population, this industry has been steadily coming forward. The fortunes of at least one state are closely bound up with this single agricultural project. The social and physical welfare of thousands of Mexicans and Spanish-Americans has been directly affected by the attendant problems of recent migrations induced by the industry. Local communities and the sugar industry itself were unprepared to deal with the situation; and, in the main, they have been quite apathetic in the matter.

In Professor Taylor's new volume one is brought face to face with such socio-economic problems as child labor, education and retardation, wages, housing, relief, race conflict, and assimilation. One is confronted with the possibility of wealth being amassed at the expense of the individual and the community. One questions the moral responsibility of the sugar companies for the welfare of countless thousands of foreigners who have been induced openly and systematically to come to the South Platte Valley. The reader may pause and wonder whether enough is being done to sweeten the bitter cup of those through whose sweat and toil our palate is sweetened.

Dr. Redfield's study is a contribution from the side of anthropology. He has given us more than a description of a Mexican-Indian village, for, after all, Tepoztlán is not just an ordinary Mexican hamlet. It is unique in that there is found side by side the pre-Columbian and the modern culture, the rustic and the urban influences, the simple life and the sophisticated, paganism and Christianity; and in it all there is a curious blending. There are presented the dire results of revolution upon the placid life of an isolated Mexican village, and one follows with ever increasing interest the village life of work and play through the changing seasons and in the numerous yearly festivals. Intimate views are had of family and social life centered about the kitchen, the loom, the market place, the church and shrines, and the Christian-pagan festivals. This Indian folk is shown to be an interstitial society between the urban and the tribal. In their songs and literature are evidenced folk interests and ideals, a mind which is naïve yet developing under urban influences, and an intensely patriotic spirit. In ritual and recreation, as well as in literature, there is more than the traditional; and yet it is not the modern. The author terms it the "traditional." The method of presentation is not so technical as to fail in holding the attention of the uninitiated. Especially is this a timely production in view of the fact that public attention in the United States is so centered upon the Mexican immigrant. Many Mexicans come from a similar cultural environment; and this work finds its chief practical merit in helping us to look upon the Mexican with new interest, more understanding, and greater respect.

PAUL L. WARNSHUIS

PRESBYTERIAN BOARD OF NATIONAL MISSIONS
DENVER

The Catholic Church and the Destitute (The "Calvert Series," HILAIRE BELLOC, general editor). By JOHN O'GRADY. New York: MacMillan Co., 1929. Pp. 140. $1.00.

Father O'Grady in his brief history, *The Catholic Church and the Destitute*, gives a vivid stream picture of the charitable practices that have resulted from Christianity being conceived from the beginning as essentially a social religion. He points out that in periods of Catholic revival, leaders such as Ozanam have approached the problem of poverty as both students and philosophers. They have made preparation for meeting the needs of destitute people as "part of a carefully mapped-out plan for the regeneration of society and the defense of Christian principles." Moreover, Catholic leaders have not visualized this opportunity for service as lessened when the public should assume responsibility for meeting the material needs of the poor, but on the contrary have recognized the fact that such division of responsibility leaves Catholic agencies freer to concentrate "on the work for which they are peculiarly fitted, namely, the moral regeneration of the poor." Father O'Grady asserts that the most fundamental practice of modern social work is the case work approach in the study and treatment of its problems. But he points out that the betterment of the economic condition of the wage-earning group is inextricably bound up with the work of caring for individuals and families. He deprecates the tendency of persons interested in Catholic social action to work independently of those engaged in direct service to individuals and vice versa (a criticism that might apply to social work in the non-church field). Ozanam is quoted as recognizing that the two types of endeavor are parts of one program, a program which when true to its heritage illustrates a philosophy of life and becomes "a living active force," the result of self-sacrifice, stamped with the insignia of the missionary and the reformer. Father O'Grady, writing as one who has been active in the development of diocesan organization throughout the United States, says that "the diocesan organizations of Catholic Charities in the United States owe much to the leadership and inspiration of the National Conference of Catholic Charities." In attending a session of the recent meeting of the said National Conference, held in Washington in September, I was impressed by the fact that the group representative of the clergy, the laity, and the religious workers came with minds alert to receive new impressions and to take away points to be applied in making fresh contributions in service. The meeting in itself served to corroborate Father O'Grady's assertion quoted above, and likewise gave assurance that leaders within the Catholic Church have been able to indoctrinate agencies with the need of trained service for the furthering of what Father O'Grady terms "a fairly systematic program of Catholic Charities in some thirty dioceses." In so doing they have not lost a sense of the value of what St. Vincent de Paul termed the "lay apostolate."

MARY WILLCOX GLENN

NEW YORK CITY

The U.S. Looks at Its Churches. By C. LUTHER FRY. New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1930. Pp. xiv+183. $2.50.

The significance of this volume may well be illustrated by the following incident. A city lady, sojourning in the country for the summer, was stricken by a malady which the country doctor pronounced a serious cardiac trouble; and to help it she was dosed for six weeks until a sufficient strength came back to enable her to get to the city and to a specialist, who immediately had a cardiograph made of her heart action. Its record showed a normal heart action, the specialist stopped the nauseous dosing and tried simpler measures, and the lady has recovered, all ominous predictions to the contrary.

Similarly, many dire predictions have been made by radical speakers and writers, whose wishes fathered their thoughts on the subject, concerning the state and the future of Christianity in this country, the decline of the Protestant churches, the onrush of Roman Catholicism. The book before us is the effort to answer, in a reliable way, the broad question: "What is the church situation in our country today?" The reliability of the answer depends, of course, upon that of the Federal Census of Religious Bodies, taken in 1926, as digested, summarized, and interpreted by Dr. Fry and Mary Frost Jessup, with the aid of officials of the Census Bureau. Dr. Fry asserts his belief that the Census is dependable, for by careful cross check-up "the Census findings seem to be slightly more conservative than denominational data in the case of both membership and expenditures" (p. vi).

Chapter headings are: "What Proportion of Americans Belong to Church?" "To What Denominations Do They Belong?" "How Are Churches Geographically Distributed?" "How Rapidly Are Churches Growing?" "Is the Sunday School Declining?" "To What Extent Are Ministers Academically Trained?" "What Is the Value of Church Property?" "How Much Do Churches Spend?"

These are vital queries; and the answers are presented clearly, concisely, interestingly. In one sense they are not at all what might be expected by those accustomed to the cocksure statements of hostile critics. So far as ecclesiastical strength and progress go, this age of so-called skepticism and materialism seems to have been more propitious to church development than that before the war, 1906–1916 (compare chaps. v, vi, viii). To be sure, such development in numbers of members, value of property, and annual budgets may be regarded as no criterion of the moral and spiritual influence of the churches; but the computation of that was not within the purpose of the Census nor of the editors of this book!

There are interesting maps, showing the prevalence of certain of the larger denominations throughout the country; there are vivid graphs and charts on the subjects of ministerial education, church expenses per member, and the like, although more of the heavy statistics are given in the Appendixes, which are almost as valuable as the text. Chapter ix, on Church Expenditures, is perhaps the most interesting for social scientists, for it includes a discussion of the

proportion of the income of the churches allotted to benevolences of various kinds (excluding foreign missions). Page 90 tells us that virtually eighty cents out of every dollar is expended for self-support except in such cases as, for instance, that of the Seventh Day Adventists, who, having no paid ministry, exactly reverse the ratio.

There are many interesting facts one might cite. Perhaps the most significant are, that this country is still preponderantly Protestant (62 per cent of total church membership); that the adult church membership increased (1916–1926) as fast as the adult population; that among the larger bodies, the Norwegian Lutheran, African Methodist, Protestant Episcopal, and Roman Catholic, have grown most rapidly during the decade 1916–1926; that a larger proportion of Roman Catholic priests claim college and seminary education than do Protestant ministers; that the number of Roman Catholic parochial schools has almost doubled (1906–1926).

CHARLES LYTTLE

MEADVILLE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL
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Birth Control on Trial. By LELLA SECOR FLORENCE. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1930. Pp. 153. 5*s*.

Sterilization for Human Betterment. By E. S. GOSNEY and PAUL POPENOE. New York: Macmillan Co., 1929. Pp. 194. $2.00.

Birth Control on Trial is one of the first indications that the activities of the movement are no longer entirely propaganda. Now that approval and endorsements are coming from conservatives and previously antagonistic sources, it appears to be entering upon a period of self-criticism and evaluation. Mrs. Florence was formerly Honorary Secretary of the Women's Welfare Association of Cambridge, England, an organization which has sponsored a clinic since 1925. This report is based upon the follow-up of the first 300 patients of the clinic (August, 1925, to 1927) made by Mrs. Florence, who visited as many of the homes of the first 300 patients as could be located. All but 25 of the 272 women to whom advice was actually given were called upon by the author at least once after they visited the clinic. The general findings of success and failure are so at variance with previous roseate reports that they deserve careful consideration.

It has become evident to those in touch with birth-control clinics, that the zealous and enthusiastic sponsors of such movements are frequently unduly optimistic in the reports concerning the successes of their work and that many congratulatory reports are based upon insufficient factual data. The eager proponent of contraceptive devices prefers to believe that the methods recommended are invariably successful if properly applied. It is now apparent that either the present methods of the birth-control clinics, or the co-operation obtained from the patients of such clinics, are insufficient to justify the results claimed.

The present study made by a supporter of the birth-control movement is, therefore, important in that it reveals results of present practice in birth-control instruction. Mrs. Florence, while still convinced of the validity of the work of the clinic, has moderated her optimistic belief that birth control was easy and simple and that it was only necessary to make devices accessible to women to solve the difficulties of unwanted pregnancies. As a consequence of her study Mrs. Florence makes a fervid appeal for further medical investigation and the development of perfect contraceptive methods.

It is unfortunate, however, that the follow-up which the author attempted was not accompanied with a scrutiny of the educational methods of the clinic as well as of the perfection of the devices used. Such a scrutiny might have resulted in the findings that in adjusting the sex habits of individuals much more than a single clinical visit on the part of the woman is required, that husbands and wives both must be considered and given instruction, that the clinic visit should be followed by contacts extending over a year if the desired new habits of sex conduct are to be developed.

Inasmuch as the conclusions are based largely upon the statistical evidence presented, it is unfortunate, also, that the author did not undertake a more careful and scientific study of the material. For this reason it is difficult to ascertain from the data given the rate of pregnancy per year after the clinical visit, as compared with previous rates of pregnancies, or to find out how many actual pregnancies occurred in relation to the expected number of pregnancies had clinical advice not been offered. From the data in the book it is indicated that the families receiving advice had an average of three to four pregnancies previous to referral, although this item too is in doubt. On page 157 it is stated from the history of 247 cases, that there were 1,081 known pregnancies, whereas on page 96, 265 couples were listed as having had a total of 941 pregnancies. After referral, 123 pregnancies occurred in the 300 cases covered by the study, only 78 of which were unwanted pregnancies after contraceptive advice was given. The fact that there were 36 women who were pregnant on the first visit or subsequently, before advice was received, and were not eliminated from the study at the time of clinical contact, is a definite indication of the crudity of the medical examination or the lack of it. Upon the basis of the facts, 78 unwanted pregnancies in 202 cases is at the rate of .38 per individual over a period which averages from two to four years, or probably less than .15 per year. As the average rate of pregnancy for the group coming to birth-control clinics is between .3 and .5 per year, it may be inferred that in spite of the number of failures the results of the clinic must be considered as satisfactory. It would be unfortunate, therefore, if the present study should occasion pessimism with reference to the contraceptive devices employed, rather than impatience with the superficial methods of clinical instruction and follow-up.

Gosney and Popenoe in *Sterilization for Human Betterment* have reported on the study of 6,000 sterilization operations performed in California in accordance with the statute, 1909–29, and give, in addition, a discussion of the develop-

ment of the sterilization laws and of the arguments in their behalf. More detailed material from this study has been reported in the *Journal of Social Hygiene*. The eugenic value of sterilization is stressed, and the necessity for more attention being paid to this method of limiting children in defective families than has heretofore prevailed is indicated.

The book is valuable for students of the subject who are interested in the development of sterilization methods, and in its results. It is not too carefully written, and frequently the zeal of the authors overreaches the actual findings of their study. For example, although repeated statements earlier in the volume indicate that sterilization operations do not radically affect the sex life of the patient but only the capacity for reproduction, the authors permit themselves to state, page 133, in advocating sterilization of defective children at the age of puberty, that such measures "will diminish greatly the likelihood that the child would, in the future, be a heavy expense to the taxpayers through delinquency or crime." On the basis of previous statements, this would only be true in so far as the problem of illegitimacy of the female was concerned. The authors advocate compulsory sterilization of defectives by the state, in addition to state supervision of voluntary medical sterilization.

H. L. Lurie

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The Process of Human Behavior. By Mandel Sherman and Irene Case Sherman. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1929. Pp. 227. $3.00.

The influence of the Behaviorists upon the thought of persons working in the child guidance field is manifesting itself in the increasing number of popular books setting forth the behavioristic principles. This volume by the Shermans is an example of the new literature. The reader is "conditioned" to accept the mechanistic theory of behavior in the first third of the book which is a sketchy description of the phylogenetic history of the nervous system. Having arrived at the development of the significant pattern of the reflex arc in the human individual, the authors proceed to explain the various behavior expressions of the infant by the activities of his reflex mechanism and its modifications. As might be expected, there is great emphasis placed on the influence of environmental factors upon the types of behavior which ultimately develop and there is much evidence to substantiate this opinion. But the footing is less firm in the realm of mental ability. In accepting the suggestion of Freeman that the environment plays an important part in the development of intelligence, they neglect the very important contribution of Gesell which suggests very strongly that irrespective of environmental conditions, one can predict the I.Q. of an older child or adult from the I.Q. obtained at an early age.

In relation to habit formation, a very practical note is stressed: that a habit develops rapidly at first and then more slowly as it advances toward completion;

and that in the first stage guidance aids the progress but definitely hinders it in the later stage. This offers a very significant point in methods of teaching, for frequently a child is hampered by too much guidance which slows his speed of attainment and decreases his independence in meeting new problems.

Very interesting observations are described which illustrate the development of emotional responses from undifferentiated behavior of the infant; and it is this part of the book, on emotions, which offers the more unique contribution. Infants were found to react to all noxious stimuli by the same behavior, e.g., crying, generalized kicking of the extremities and spasmodic breathing. The stimuli used were sudden removal of support, restraint, pin prick, and hunger. The adults observing described the reactions as fear, anger, hunger, etc., but when moving pictures were observed in which only the reactions were shown, the individuals were quite inaccurate in their estimates. The authors conclude from these experiments that emotions are read into an infant's behavior and do not actually develop until later teaching by an adult has given meaning to the reaction. Emotions are then postulated to develop from three primary reaction patterns, retreat from mild noxious stimuli, aggression toward more intense noxious stimuli, and relaxation resulting in sleep as a reaction to pleasant stimuli. These reactions later become correlated with fear, anger, and love.

There is less dogmatism than is frequently found in much of the popularized behaviorism and one finds sound advice as to the handling of young infants to aid the development of adequate habit formation and emotional responses. Although one may not entirely agree with all the theoretical superstructure, the approach itself offers a challenge to the less experimental avenues of study of behavior.

MARGARET W. GERARD

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Problem Tendencies in Children. By WILLARD C. OLSON. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1930. Pp. 91. $2.00.

This small volume offers an encouraging note to persons who decry the lack of a scientific approach in the study of behavior problems. It is a report of a statistical study of the various factors in personality and in intelligence which seem to correlate to produce specific behavior patterns in school children. The data are gathered from questionnaires filled in by the teachers of these children. In compiling the questions, there has been an attempt to divide personality qualities into as fundamental traits as possible. Traits, of course, are not unit characters, and it is difficult, therefore, to use terms other than popular words or phrases to describe behavior reactions, and one is well aware of the difficulties in naming more or less non-specific traits; yet many of the qualities seem to be given terms which would not facilitate similarity of interpretations by different persons. One questions agreement on such qualities as "white livered," "gets cold feet," "coquette," "clinging vine," etc. The questionnaire method at its

best has many pitfalls, and it seems that such looseness of terms is apt to lay open to question the reliability of the data. On the other hand, since one does not expect this method to give very accurate data, these flaws in the questionnaire itself may be considered as responsible for only a minor part of the necessary error in agreement.

The study offers, however, many points of value in a method of approach, and conclusions drawn from the results are interesting. A negative correlation existed at all ages between general intelligence and problem tendencies. In each grade the chronologically overage child and the mentally underage child were found to be the greatest problems. "Problem tendencies appeared to be more closely related to achievement in school subjects as measured by standardized tests than to general ability as measured by tests." It is suggested, therefore, that the behavior rating scale may be a valuable aid in predicting school achievement as well as in sorting out the more obvious factors responsible for misbehavior in the individual pupil. It is not probable, however, that such an approach will ever supersede the more individual study of problem cases used in a psychiatric analysis, although such a result has been predicted by the more enthusiastic promotors of personality tests and questionnaires.

M. W. G.

Reichsjugendwohlfahrtsgesetz Kommentar. By FRIEDEBERG-POLLIGKEIT. Second edition. Berlin: Carl Heymanns, 1930. Pp. xv+581. M. 13.

This second edition of Dr. Polligkeit's commentary on Germany's National Child Welfare Law (prepared with the aid of three other leaders in child welfare in Germany, Dr. P. Blumenthal, judge of the juvenile court in Altona, Dr. H. Eiserhardt, executive secretary of the Deutscher Verein für öffentliche und private Fürsorge in Frankfurt am Main, and Dr. G. Fr. Storck, director of the Landesjugendamt in Lübeck) is unquestionably one of the most significant recent volumes in its field. It purports to be a commentary; but it is more than the mere elucidation of a law. The one hundred pages of general discussion which have been placed as introductory interpretations of the various sections of the law present an exceedingly useful and concise summary of the history of public child welfare and child welfare legislation in Germany. Abundant references to more complete materials make these sections particularly valuable to the student in search of greater detail at any point.

Whereas the first edition of the work appeared just at the time the epoch-making law with which it is concerned went into force, the present volume is based upon somewhat over five years of experience in the operation of services as planned under the law. It has been possible, therefore, for Dr. Polligkeit and his associates to offer a body of analytical criticism based upon the actual results of experience in the conduct of Germany's elaborate public child-caring program. That so much of the criticism is favorable suggests that the guaran-

teeing by the national government of a minimum of care and education for every child is, when thrown against the background of inconsistent, uneven, often ill-considered state and local provision which existed previously, a tremendous step forward.

In his Introduction, Dr. Polligkeit remarks:

> The passing of a national child welfare law is a milestone not only in the history of the development of child welfare, but also in the social and cultural development of our people. . . . . It is an indication of an increased sense of responsibility on the part of all of our people for the fate of the individual that this law is based upon the fundamental idea that the public must undertake to secure to the individual child the right to education.

The principal object of the book—that of giving exact information concerning legal rights, privileges, and limitations in the realm of child care in Germany—is so well achieved that child welfare workers are calling it the "Bible" of child welfare.

EARL D. MYERS

BERLIN

Lebensschicksal und Persönlichkeit ehemaliger Fürsorgezöglinge. By ADELHEID FUCHS-KAMP. Berlin: Julius Springer, 1929. Pp. 172. M. 18.

The two questions "What actually happens, in the course of years, to boys who go through correctional schools?" and "What sort of psychological material are correctional school products?" constitute the problem in Dr. Fuchs-Kamp's significant study. No other such case study of former pupils in correctional schools has been made in Germany. The reviewer knows of no parallel study in the English language.

The bulk of the book—118 of the 172 pages—is made up of case studies of the men who were admitted as boys in 1910 to the state correctional school in Flehingen in Baden. The study was begun in 1925 and carried on over a course of four years. The excellent personal registry system in Germany made it possible to follow, fifteen years later, all but three of the ninety boys who entered the school in 1910. Twenty had died (fifteen of these being killed in the war); one had been committed to a hospital for the insane shortly after admission to the school; one had been placed in family care after a brief stay at Flehingen. The study, therefore, concerns sixty-five of the original ninety.

The picture presented by these sixty-five men of 33 to 38 years of age is not a particularly attractive one. Only twelve of the group avoided completely subsequent criminality. Twenty-seven fall in the class of the less serious criminals, some of these, however, having as many as six or seven crimes recorded against them. Twenty-two had to be classified as seriously criminal. The remaining four were borderline cases between the non-criminal and the mildly

criminal groups. It is not possible, in view of the repeated appearance of criminality among those who served in the army, to assume that all of the fifteen killed in action belonged to the non-criminal group.

Dr. Fuchs-Kamp's careful case studies, from all available records and from personal interviews with employers, friends, etc., as well as with the men themselves, reveal the general fact that for this group the non-criminal came to the correctional school as a result of a single delinquency arising rather late in boyhood, and that after one institutional experience, they were not again before the courts. The mildly criminal, and even more markedly, the seriously criminal, had begun their delinquencies early in childhood—had been, in short, "problem" children. She says of them: "Children's home and correctional school found in many of them difficult educational problems; repeated commitment to institutions sought to achieve what one commitment had failed to accomplish."

A further factor of interest in the study is the attempt to classify the criminal group as to personality type. For this classification the scheme of Dr. Kurt Schneider was used. For one reason or another, eleven of the forty-nine could not be classified with any assurance. The rest, however, all showed evidence of personality traits sufficiently marked to warrant placement in classes ranging from mild to somewhat severe personality disturbances.

The conclusions of Dr. Fuchs-Kamp are interesting and important. But in the actual records of these sixty-five cases, fifteen to eighteen years after their commitment to the school in Flehingen, lies the really significant contribution of the study.

E. D. M.

A Study of Educational Achievement of Problem Children. By RICHARD H. PAYNTER and PHYLLIS BLANCHARD. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, Division of Publications, 1929. Pp. x+72. $1.00.

This study was made from the case records of demonstration child guidance clinics financed by the Commonwealth Fund in Los Angeles and Philadelphia. Its general purpose is to determine the relationship between the child's problems and his school failures. As an outcome of the investigation, it is pointed out that there is no general trend which would imply "that the existence of personality and behavior deviations will necessarily impair educational achievement." Problem children show no general tendency to low educational achievement.

Although no scholastic impairment is indicated, there is evidence that these special children are being poorly prepared for adaptation to economic and social demands which will be made upon them in maturity. Inasmuch as a large percentage of this group was considered maladjusted by teachers on grounds other than those of educational attainment and grade placement, and clinical study was requested by them for these less pedagogical reasons, it is felt that there has been a distinct advance in the socialization of the school. Concern for personal-

ity difficulties that lead to vocational and social maladjustments in maturity and the wider use of supplementary diagnostic and treatment services as aids in meeting these problems are encouraging advances.

The methods of the study indicate cautious procedure. The limited number of cases limits generalizations, but the findings are important and suggestive.

HARRISON A. DOBBS

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The Case of Miss R. By ALFRED ADLER. New York: Greenberg, 1929 Pp. xxii+306. $3.50.

This book is "the interpretation of a life story," written in the form of an extremely detailed analysis of the life-story of a young girl. It is, in reality, a picture of the development of a neurosis as described by the patient, with annotated comments by the psychiatrist. This autobiography was originally presented by Dr. Adler to a group of psychiatrists and pedagogues in Vienna and subsequently published in book form.

The material is extremely readable and adapted to a wide audience, both those having a knowledge of mental-hygiene literature and to the lay reader. It contains many everyday familiar examples of behavior patterns, and Dr. Adler comments skilfully and delicately on them with a seasoned judgment and a saving sense of humor. Dr. Adler states himself that his purpose in publishing the book is to "give the reader a picture of the procedure followed in his psychological analysis. I want my reader to see how a psychologist, armed with a store of experience, listens to, apprehends, looks over and understands an ordinary and otherwise insignificant life story."

CORNELIA HOPKINS ALLEN

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Recording and Reporting for Child Guidance Clinics. By MARY AUGUSTA CLARK. New York: The Commonwealth Fund Division of Publications, 1930. Pp. xi+151. $2.00.

In recent years social workers have been clamorous in their demand for better statistics. Few, however, have been able to suggest specific ways and means of meeting this demand. Now at length a demonstration has been made in the field of child-guidance clinics that is likely to be a pacemaker for many years to come. Miss Clark has in this book set forth a system of record-keeping and reporting that, for thoroughness and clarity, stands unrivalled in the field of social work.

The great merit of Miss Clark's work lies in the fact that she was willing to toil at foundation-laying before attempting to erect a superstructure. Usually,

in the statistics of social work, this process has been reversed. We have commonly spent most of our energies in developing schedules and have hoped that somehow or other agencies could devise ways and means of supplying the needed data. Upon this crude hypothesis Miss Clark has squarely turned her back. She has been willing to start from scratch and build up an entire system of record keeping before essaying to cull the data for which the entire project was devised.

The individual who seeks treatment for his offspring at a child-guidance clinic is asked to fill out an application blank. This blank is the first brick, so to speak, in the statistical structure. The application blank is shown in facsimile in the book with complete explanation of its use and definition of all its terms. The administration card, the index card, the social worker's tally, and all of the various records that are essential in this field of work are similarly treated. Every step, from the first entry on the application blank to the final tabulation of the summaries is exhaustively set forth. In other words it has been recognized throughout that service bookkeeping, like cost accounting, depends for the reliability of its results upon the accuracy and the comparability of the records of original entry. These basic records have been so painstakingly set forth that the document appears to be fool-proof.

The charts Miss Clark has worked out deserve mention, particularly her analysis of service classifications. The case-working agencies have always insisted upon a differentiated case count, but they have never been able to reach satisfactory agreements with respect to the definition of the categories upon which differentiation depends. Miss Clark has solved this problem by constructing a classificatory chart. Five types of cases are recognized by child-guidance clinics. The chart sets forth the identifying attributes of each and thus reduces the classification of any given case to a simple matter of matching its characteristics with those summarized in the chart. It has been clear for some time to a small group of workers that accurate classification in the case-working fields can be attained in no other way. Formal verbal definitions of categories have been given thorough trial and have been found wanting. Unquestionably other case working groups will ultimately develop similar classificatory charts. The only alternative is to abandon differentiations that produce meaningless results.

Although as a piece of workmanship Miss Clark's book commands admiration, her undertaking is one that could not be economically justified in most fields of social work. The rank and file of social agencies must have simpler systems of record keeping and less elaborate methods of reporting. In a field that from any angle is still largely experimental, an ambitious plan for statistical recording and reporting is a distinct contribution both to methodology and to an appraisal of the extent to which the statistical method may profitably be promoted in the field of social work. In the older fields of social work a crying need exists for handbooks on recording and reporting that are as well thought out as the one Miss Clark has produced, but they must be very much more

restricted in scope and simplified in method if they are to carry through to the practical field of daily operation.

A. W. McM.

The Filene Store: A Study of Employes' Relation to Management in a Retail Store. By MARY LADAME. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1930. Pp. 541. $2.50.

The prevailing pattern of thought in the field of industrial relations was set by Sidney and Beatrice Webb in their treatise *Industrial Democracy*. The technical terminology, the line of argument, and the point of view developed have dominated the thought and literature, and the policies and methods of students and leaders in the field of labor. In substance this theory may be stated as follows: The evolution of the capitalistic system tends inevitably to grind down the worker; to worst him both socially and economically. The interests of workers and employers are fundamentally opposed under competitive conditions and nothing can be expected from profit-seeking capitalists. To counteract this tendency two means are available: trade unionism, and governmental interference through legislation.

Down to the turn of the century this point of view was prevalent. It is characteristic of the general texts dealing with labor problems and treatises on trade unionism, and was the basis of most of the propaganda for labor legislation. It was generally taken for granted that inevitably industrial relations in the United States would repeat the English experience and that in consequence the labor laws and institutions of England should be reproduced here. The experiences of the last few decades, however, have raised serious doubts as to the efficacy of trade unionism and labor legislation as constructive methods of dealing with industrial relations problems. On the whole, they have been found to be negative rather than positive devices. During this period, however, a new point of view and method of dealing with labor problems has developed. Among the more progressive business firms personnel administration has come to be established as a formally recognized and definite phase of business management, and the movement has developed to such a degree that an entirely new type of industrial relations is in prospect. Though possibilities are only partially disclosed, there is strong reason for thinking that entirely new avenues are being opened so that the English experience need not be repeated, and that hope lies in a direction quite different from that indicated in the socialistic and negativistic dogma of the Webbs. The William Filene's Sons Company has been one of the leaders among business firms in developing a program of industrial relations representative of this newer point of view.

The present study by the Russell Sage Foundation is the latest of a series dealing with outstanding industrial relations programs. The nature of this analysis is clearly indicated in the Foreword by the statement of objectives as presented by Mary Van Kleeck:

We are not primarily concerned with the conditions established, the rates of wages paid, or the hours worked except as these are the result of a larger influence on the part of employees. Our chief concern is to find out by what procedure conditions have been established and, particularly, how effective the voice of the workers has been in the process of determining them. Beyond this lies the important question of how an industrial enterprise can be conducted so that the relations between employers and employees shall square with the American ideals of democracy and brotherhood.

To many students this would not appear to be the most significant basis for analyzing and evaluating a program of industrial relations, and its rigorous development has resulted in a particularistic rather than eclectic interpretation. The factual presentation is, however, quite exhaustive so that the student interested in applying other criteria of analysis has most of the necessary data before him.

When Edward A. and A. Lincoln Filene took over the control of William Filene's Sons Company in 1901 they laid down three specifications in accordance with which the business was to be managed: permanency, profit, and service to customers. Out of this threefold business aim evolved a threefold personnel program: employee participation in management, in profits, and possibly in ownership. To provide representation the company established an employees' organization, The Filene Co-operative Association. This association grew slowly, almost imperceptibly, out of conditions in the store. In 1903 it was set up with a formal constitution. As set forth in the 1922 revision of the constitution and in the charter of the Association, its purpose is: "to give its members a voice in their government; to increase their efficiency; to add to their social opportunities; to sustain a just and equitable relation between employer and employee."

The major portion of the study is devoted to a historical analysis of the functioning of the Filene Co-operative Association, "the effectiveness of its voice," in the interpretation, revision, and administration of these policies and objectives as they have evolved in the development of the Filene Store. More specifically, the work of the Association is analyzed in relation to: hours of work, vacations, wages, profit sharing, discipline, welfare work, suggestions and sales promotion, arbitration of industrial relations disputes, representation on the board of directors, and stock ownership. The investigators find that the increasing size of the Association has resulted in loss of spontaneity and individual participation, most of the work being done by a paid staff directed by an executive secretary. The participation of the Association in management has been mainly limited to problems of personnel, and in these problems it has done its best work in the correction of injustices to individuals. It has been concerned with matters of discipline and welfare. It has been negative on the problem of wages in general. When it has displayed initiative in other matters, as profit sharing and responsibility of the F.C.A. directors to the Association, it has been checked by decisions of the board of directors. In general, during the thirty years of its history, the trend of the F.C.A. has been away from active participation in management.

No charge is made of lack of sincerity on the part of the owner-managers, and the testimony of the employees is uniformly to the effect that the management is fair and that the store is a good place to work. Failure to attain to any significant degree the objectives of sharing management, ownership, and profits is attributable in part to lack of aggressive interest on the part of employees, and in part to the inability of the owner-managers to promote these interests and at the same time to fulfill the threefold aim of the business: permanency, profit, and service to the customers. This experience demonstrates clearly the possibility of establishing a system of industrial relations mutually satisfactory to workers and employers. It leaves largely undisclosed the possibilities of establishing a system of industrial democracy under competitive conditions.

R. W. STONE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Is It Safe to Work? A Study of Industrial Accidents (Pollak Foundation for Economic Research, Pub. No. 12). By EDISON L. BOWERS. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1930. Pp. xiii+239. $2.50.

The title of this book is clearly intended to serve the propagandic purpose of arousing interest rather than to disclose the nature of the discourse. One only of the fourteen chapters bears at all directly on this topic, and that only in a summary fashion. No new data are developed to show more fully the extent, character, and trends in accident hazards. The title is wholly misleading and its use, despite such propagandic value as it may have, is questionable. The treatise sets forth a critical analysis of the theory and administration of current workmen's compensation systems, and suggests plans for modification to meet the shortcomings indicated. The discussion stresses particularly methods of handling partial permanent disability, compensation for death and total disability, rehabilitation, and accident prevention.

Several chapters are devoted to pointing out the shortcomings of the flat-rate permanent disability schedules that obtain in most of the states as well as foreign countries. The results of investigations are presented in support of the claim that sex, age, and occupation are significant factors in determining the degree of disability, and that wage before injury is not an indicator of adaptability following permanent injury as is assumed in the British Columbia system. In the light of these data, Mr. Bowers outlines a permanent partial disability schedule that he holds to be more scientific than any in use and yet quite feasible of administration.

Mr. Bowers holds that compensation for death and medical care is wholly inadequate. The cost of medical care should be fully met by compensation. When the deceased has dependents, compensation for death should be from 50 per cent to 80 per cent of probable earnings (the proportion varying with the number and status of the dependents) and should continue throughout dependency.

In the interest of safety promotion, Mr. Bowers advocates raising the rates of compensation so high that employers cannot afford to permit accidents, and a careful differentiation of insurance rates so that variations in accident rates will entail significant differences in competitive advantage.

The substantive contribution of the book appears in the discussion of permanent partial disability. Here the critical analysis is both comprehensive and incisive, and suggestions for improvement are based upon careful research. In other respects the book offers nothing new in the way of information. The point of view throughout is that to the fullest extent practicable the moral and financial burden of accidents should be thrown on employers; and that the way to secure positive progress in accident prevention is through penalization of employers. It is admitted that workmen's compensation has been sadly disappointing as a preventive measure.

Experience to date would appear to indicate that this simple and direct method of promoting safety would fail of attaining its goal. Workers quite as much as employers have responsibilities in safety promotion; it is a problem that can be handled only by intelligent, energetic co-operation. The negative method of penalties has done little to date and probably will do little to promote such co-operation.

As the author points out, however, workmen's compensation is in a rut; thinking has been stereotyped along with the laws and the methods of administration. Results are not satisfactory, yet there is little disposition to recognize shortcomings, and to collect data and conduct investigations that would lead to improvements. This book is an effective criticism of this situation.

R. W. S.

Ohio Wage Earners in the Manufacture of Rubber Products, 1914–1928. By Amy G. Maher. Toledo: Information Bureau on Women's Work, 1930. Pp. 53. $1.00.

This is the third of a series of studies which utilize the data on wage and salary rates and employment fluctuations of the Ohio Division of Labor Statistics. Published reports of the Division and transcripts of unpublished records are used. The first study of the series covered earnings and fluctuations of employment for the state. The second dealt with the textiles, which employed more women than any other industry in the state.

The rubber industry was chosen for this study because the proportion of women to men doubled between 1915 and 1928 and the actual number of women employed quadrupled. The study gives the trend of median wage rates of men and women in all rubber industries in the state for the period covered. It shows that weekly money wages were highest for both sexes in 1920, but real wages, based on the United States Bureau of Labor statistics studies of cost of living, were highest in 1928. The relative weekly rate for both sexes together, however,

was lower in 1928 than in 1923 because of the increase in the number of lower-paid women workers. Annual money wages were also highest in 1920; but real annual money wages, in 1923. The study also shows the monthly and annual fluctuations in employment. Employment of both men and women, after the slump of 1920, steadily rose until 1928, men's employment that year being below but women's above that for 1920. Similar data are given for all rubber industries of Akron and for the manufacture of tires and tubes in that city. For the latter industry seasonal fluctuation of employment is also shown.

The study follows the method used in those preceding, giving promise of a series that will make similar and comparable analyses for all industries of the state. The material has the further virtue of showing trends.

MOLLIE RAY CARROLL

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Making Fascists. By HERBERT W. SCHNEIDER and SHEPARD B. CLOUGH. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929. Pp. xv+211. $3.00.

This volume is one of the series of studies of civic education in several modern states edited by Professor Charles E. Merriam. The authors are unusually well qualified to execute the work, as Mr. Schneider is a student of philosophy and religion and the author of that excellent book, *Making the Fascist State;* and Mr. Clough is a historian especially interested in nationalism. They have collected a large amount of scattered material about the novel aspects of Italian life herein treated, and have supplemented this information through direct contacts either by personal interview or by letter with some leader in every phase of Fascist activity and by conversations with opponents of Fascism.

In Italy the authors had an exceptionally clear-cut case for studying the organization and methods of civic training. The future of the Fascist experiment, like that of the Soviet experiment, depends in great part on the success of its adherents in developing a new type of civic devotion, as it lacks the momentum of custom and tradition to carry it along. The novelty of the problem lay, the authors state, in the fact that the Fascists seek to realize ancient ideals by modern methods. "National independence and unity, imperial power, centralized government, and Roman-Catholic civilization [not to be identified with the Catholic church, which is of lesser scope]" are the ancient ends of this "conservative revolution," while

> the modern means . . . . may be summarized under the general institutions of militarism, capitalism, syndicalism, machinery, the press, and the public school. The aim of our investigation has been to see what changes have been instituted by Fascism in the functioning of these modern mechanisms, when they are made to serve purposes for which they were not invented.

In this corporative state the government provides technical competence, whereas the people, incapable of passing judgment upon political issues, lend

moral enthusiasm. The normal functioning of democratic government is repudiated in favor of a new kind of benevolent despotism, a "division of labor based on the separation of means and end" applied to modern institutions. Schools and the press are "essentially organs of propaganda, not of criticism." Citizenship is expressed by diligently minding one's own business, by developing one's self morally, intellectually, and especially economically, not as a selfish act but as a public service. Since business is a form of national warfare against international enemies, any economic hardships are to be borne as patriotic sacrifices. Thereby class struggle is sublimated into international struggle to the glory of Italy. As to local loyalties within the country, they are tolerated and even encouraged so long as they spur on each local group to compete with the others in enthusiasm for the nation, so long as each contributes to the richness of Italian genius, and so long as all eyes are focused on Rome.

The fundamental conflict confronting the Fascists is; according to the authors, that with the Catholic church for the devotion of the Italians. Fascism partakes of the nature of a religion, having its martyrology, its ritual and symbols, making its emotional appeal, and turning the moral allegiance of the people to that mystic being, the state. The use of the word *risorgimento* with reference to the Fascist movement, the sacrosanct character of Il Duce, the revival of the teachings of Mazzini and Gioberti about the primacy of the Italians and their cultural mission as leaders of a new world all enhance this mundane religiosity. In spite of the recent agreement between the government and the church, the Fascist attempt to supplant the old religious loyalty, an attempt which accentuates the dualism in modern life already existing between orthodox religion and the growing secular interests, remains a source of grave difficulty.

In arriving at these conclusions the authors discuss first the group attitudes, taking up Fascism with respect to the economic elements, the several regions of the country, the non-Italian subjects, international relations, and Catholicism. They follow up this analysis with a longer treatment of the actual technique of civic training, handling, in order, Fascist education, military service, the bureaucracy, the Fascist party, the Fascist press, the patriotic organizations, and the use of symbolism and tradition. A wealth of quotations and summaries of documents and books give particularity to the volume, but coupled with the outline form of treatment they make it very dry reading. The corporative state is properly emphasized and not Mussolini, who, in fact, is seldom mentioned. The complex motives behind policies, the variety of groups and ideas which constitute Fascism are admirably analyzed and in an unusually impartial manner. Yet for the object in view the book seems incomplete. Although, as the authors point out, the pragmatic, developing nature of Fascism prevents any too bold generalizations from being drawn, fuller interpretation would certainly have enhanced the value of the work. Moreover the reader has the impression that since the purpose was to explain the process of making Fascists, the authors stress the achievements and successes of Fascism and

underrate its weaknesses and mistakes of omission. On the last page, however, they adjust the balance by one of their penetrating, though too infrequent, interpretations.

Fascism rests fundamentally on the basis of international struggle. If, for any reason, Italians should seek more intimate relations with international groups, if their loyalty should become less exclusively national, or if internal class struggles should become too acute, Fascist methods and ideals of civic training will have little relevance and small chance of adapting themselves to such aims.

"A book and a musket, a perfect Fascist," said Mussolini; but if the musket becomes useless for bluff or for actual use in international relations and necessary for employment in domestic affairs, the days of Fascism are past.

EUGENE N. ANDERSON

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Legislative Principles: A History and Theory of Lawmaking by Representative Government. By ROBERT LUCE. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1930. Pp. vi+667. $6.00.

Congressman Luce has added a third volume to his series on the legislative branch of government. The subtitle of the present volume is more accurate than the title itself, as the author presents few principles that should guide legislators. The first part of the book discusses the origin and development of representative institutions; and the rest of the book deals with matters concerning the organization and functions of the electorate, such as the ballot, majority and plurality elections, proportional representation, occupational representation, suffrage qualifications, methods of apportionment, corrupt practices, and the initiative and referendum. There are very few principles that stand out in the great mass of historical and legal material which Congressman Luce has put in his book. He evidently believes in the limitation of the electorate by literacy tests, the secret ballot, the advantages of plurality elections as opposed to majority elections, the superiority of lawmaking by representatives over direct lawmaking by the voters, and the practice of leaving legislators free to follow the dictates of their consciences when the occasion demands. These beliefs can hardly be called principles.

There is no question that the book is based upon wide reading and experience. Mr. Luce is a recognized authority upon American legislative practices, and his comments upon the operation of representative institutions are usually illuminating. However, his treatment of European parliaments shows a lack of familiarity with his materials. In stating that the question of property qualifications for voting has not much vexed the politics of Continental Europe (p. 297) he entirely ignores the three-class system in Prussia before 1919. In discussing proportional representation in Belgium he fails to note that this system produced majority government for many years in this country. In the latter

part of his book he mentions the abolition of plural voting in Belgium and the French electoral law of 1927, but in the earlier portions of his book he shows no knowledge of these changes. These and similar statements are due to a failure to exhaust materials in English on electoral matters and to an almost complete neglect of French and German materials.

It is unfortunate that Congressman Luce's style is so forbidding. Much of his useful material is buried between pages of dry precedents and quotations.

HAROLD F. GOSNELL

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Problems in Contemporary County Government: An Examination of the Process of County Administration in Virginia (University of Virginia Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, Monograph No. 8). By WYLIE KILPATRICK. University of Virginia, 1930. Pp. xxi+666. $5.00.

This great volume makes a rich contribution to a field hitherto much neglected but at present the subject of an awakening interest which welcomes every new addition to the information now available. In these chapters are found a mass of data with reference to the administration in the counties of Virginia and a comprehensive and masterly discussion of the problems involved.

It is made clear from the beginning to the end that the question of county administration must be approached from the point of view of the state and also from that of the smaller jurisdiction. It is also made clear in the discussion of health (chap. ii) and of almshouses (chap. xix) that something between the county and the state, in the case of the hospitals the "unit," in the case of almshouses the "joint district," is a better unit for concerted and unified action than the smaller unit or than the county itself. It is impossible and unnecessary to summarize the facts so comprehensively assembled. The chapters in Part I on "The Problem of Function" deal with engineering and highways; co-operative health units; public welfare in which, however, neither the almshouse nor the jail is included; the county library; agriculture and forestry; county and rural planning; and the transition from the justice of the peace to the county trial court. In Part II on "The Problem of Finance" there are four chapters devoted to questions of assessment, collection of funds, county budget making, and local use of public credit. Under "The Problem of Area" are discussed financial adequacy, with suggestions for districting for services, and the allocation of resources to counties, with a most interesting discussion of the various schemes for equalization. Under "Problem of Personnel" three chapters are devoted to the structure, the fee system, and classification. The jail, the school plant, the county offices, and the almshouse are discussed as aspects of the "Problem of the Physical Plant." The question of the county is discussed in relation first, to the state, and second, to the town; and three chapters are devoted to questions of

reorganization, a county plan for the county, developing patterns of administration, and an evolving county supervisory plan.

As has been said every student of the subject is placed under heavy obligations to the Institute and to Dr. Kilpatrick. On the subject of equalization, for example, to which the attention of social workers is being drawn by the state funds in aid of local mothers' pensions, blind pensions, probation costs, etc., on the subject of the jail, for which so many communities have found no satisfactory substitute, on the subject of the almshouse, which takes on new interest as the care of the aged is approached with a view to social case treatment, and the problem of the chronically sick emerges from the general question of the care of the sick poor, there is extended information as to the situation in Virginia, the remedies that have been attempted in other commonwealths and a critical discussion of possible development toward a more efficient county organization and a constantly increasing intelligence with reference to the true nature of the relationship of the county to the state. In the final chapter the discussion of the influence of party organization on possible non-partisan administration in the counties of the country is of great interest. The final paragraph has special significance in connection with proposals looking toward the county manager as the possible solution.

> For the county mechanism is not constructed to accord a position for an all-controlling manager who, in the long run, invites inefficiency in administration. . . . . If the county is properly officered with directors of services, the trouble with the managerial scheme becomes not that the position is too powerful but that the manager has nothing to do. . . . . In the end, the result may be the adoption of the county manager plan in name, and, in fact, the administration of counties by financial managers, health and welfare managers, school managers, and engineering managers under a county board that refuses to govern entirely by proxy.

S. P. Breckinridge

University of Chicago

Belgian Problems since the War. By Louis Pierard. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929. Pp. x+106. $2.00.

This little book from the versatile pen of M. Pierard, artist, socialist, and M.P. from Hainaut, is really a sketch of the recent fortunes of the Belgian Labor party. One looks in vain for any general account of the economic fortunes of the country, let alone any details of public administration, social legislation, etc. Originally delivered as a series of lectures at the Institute of Politics at Williamstown, it gives an entertaining-enough account of the linguistic differences of Flemings and Walloons, the rise out of humble beginnings of the Belgian socialist and trade-union movement, the co-operatives, and the Parti Ouvrier Belge. War and post-war history are given with the intimate detail of an eye-witness.

By far the most suggestive chapter, however, is the one on the worker's use

of leisure time (since the general introduction in 1919 of the eight-hour day). Here the author is treading on ground of his own, for he has introduced and reintroduced into Parliament a bill for the government subvention of approved projects for recreation and character-building (National Fund for Popular Education). The Fund, independently organized, "would . . . . receive grants . . . . from wealthy people, employers, trade-unions, and co-operative societies" as well as from state, province, and city. It would give advice and aid as well as money, and would be strictly non-partisan. Pierard tells us with some humor that in 1925 fascist Italy, reading the Belgian parliamentary reports, took over his plan *in toto*—minus the political tolerance.

Pierard's view is that of a very catholic socialist. He stresses the non-Marxian elements in his party's history, its eclectic not to say opportunist policies in the present, and, with it all, its bringing-near of the socialist goal by the building up of a "state within the state" in the daily life of its members here and now in trade-union and co-operative. The *ménagère* "carries the revolution in her basket."

DOROTHY W. DOUGLAS

SMITH COLLEGE

Der Kampf um die Sozialversicherung. By FRIEDA WUNDERLICH. ("Schriften des Deutschen Verbandes der Sozialbeamtinnen," Heft 5.) Berlin: Deutscher Verband der Sozialbeamtinnen, 1930. Pp. 25.

This study answers authoritatively attacks upon the system of social insurance that have been made since the addition of unemployment insurance to the scheme in 1927. Opponents are divided into those who object to the basic principles of social insurance and critics of its present operation. The author begins with a brief historical survey of the concept of social insurance, which, beginning fifty years ago in Germany, has become the common property of Europe, adapted by each nation to its own requirements.

The argument is that social insurance has long since outgrown the occasion of its creation, which was the attempt to alienate labor from socialism and to reconcile it to the state. It has become a sound economic, political, and cultural force in the state and industry, more than repaying financial outlays involved. It offers protection in sickness, accident, invalidity, old age, and death of the breadwinner, thereby preventing the disorganization and social tension arising from the extreme impoverishment that would otherwise follow such misfortune. It covers two-thirds of the entire German population. The war so effectively answered the objection that social insurance was a tax upon the entire population for aid which only stultified the individual that the Reichstag adopted unemployment insurance by an overwhelming majority.

Present attacks upon social insurance result from Germany's critical economic condition caused by lack of capital, heavy war debts, and a constantly

mounting rate of unemployment. If social insurance is a burden upon industry, so also are wages and costs of management. The burden is not health insurance but sickness, not pensions but invalidity. Even should it be a hardship to the marginal firm, social insurance promotes industry as a whole, and this is the true criterion. Social insurance assembles capital through compulsory savings, utilizing the funds for domestic purposes, for public expenditures, and, indirectly, for improving the whole economic mechanism. Money allocated to social insurance is highly productive in that it insures health, intelligence, capacity for work, and morale. Social insurance is to be considered public, legalized labor management, labor's preservation, restoration, and protection against wearing out.

This brief document, issued while there is demand for reform, particularly of health insurance, shows the interrelation of economic, cultural, and social forces in social insurance. The article calls attention to the constructive results, no less important because intangible. The author terms social insurance "an island of solidarity in the sea of the profit motive." She states that solution of the conflict between the concept of social justice and a closely knit acquisitive system lies in responsibility and solidarity.

RUTH WEILAND

BERLIN, GERMANY

The British Blind. A Revolution in Thought and Action. By BEN PURSE. London: Buck Bros. & Harding, 1928. Pp. 109. 5*s*.

The readers of this *Review* may recall references in an earlier number[1] to the disjointed and haphazard character of the blind services available in Illinois—an institution for the education of the blind under the Department of Public Welfare, state payment to the school districts for excess cost incurred by the public school system of the state in providing for children whose eyesight has been impaired, home instruction of the blind, pensions for certain blind persons of limited incomes, and so forth. It was suggested that a comprehensive view should be taken of the needs of the blind, a comprehensive plan formulated, and a co-ordinated service developed. This little volume undertakes to give a comprehensive view of the services in behalf of the blind developed in Great Britain since 1891–93, when laws were passed subjecting the blind and the deaf to the compulsory attendance laws, and to indicate the lines along which development should take place.

In connection with the services that have been developed and their cost, the author calls attention to the legislation on which they rest. The education statutes have been mentioned; the poor law laid it down that relief in various forms could be granted; and the expenditures by the poor law authorities are said to have been on the whole both liberal and wisely bestowed. However, they

[1] June, 1930, pp. 238–61.

lacked the feature of uniformity about to be brought into them and so were characterized by certain features of inequality often wasteful and unsatisfactory. It is commented that prior to 1923 too much money was spent on unproductive relief and too little on constructive undertakings looking toward a definite economic result. In 1920, the Blind Persons Act regularized certain things already undertaken, authorized some new services, and gave enlarged powers to the county and county borough authorities, enabling those authorities to deal comprehensively and scientifically with all the blind persons under their care.

The author has assembled the figure showing the expenditure of the Ministry of Health, the local authorities, and the education authorities from 1921 to 1927. The expenditures of the Ministry rose from £69,886 to £112,510 in addition to state pensions, which increased from £180,000 to £364,000; the local authorities' expenditures rose from £14,671 to £173,828; including the board of education expenditures, the author estimates that public payment for the blind, of whom there are estimated one in every 911 inhabitants, or 0.1 per cent, increased from £510,000 to £920,000.

The review includes, however, not only the question of public grants but a discussion of the public services provided, and especially discusses the basis on which the services should rest. That basis in the author's opinion should not be on the principle that a man or woman laboring under a severe disability or limitation has a right to have any deficiency made good either by public or private philanthropy, but on the principle that in the employment of the blind establishment charges, economic earnings, and all production costs be closely scrutinized in comparison with enterprises employing non-handicapped workers, that blind workers be paid wages determined by their productive capacity, that charity and business be separated, and that the unemployable or underemployable be granted aid in accordance with standards of aid given other persons receiving relief, while given the benefit of education or treatment that will raise them to the most productive level they are capable of reaching. The acceptance of such principles would lead to the adoption of such modern methods of efficient management as central purchasing, skilled accounting, and co-operative selling.

It is obvious that the author's view is far removed from that of many of those responsible for the legislation in some of the states. His conclusions with reference to the treatment of the unemployable blind:

1. That it is desirable to provide allowances for unemployable blind persons sufficient for their maintenance at a percentage level above the scales generally administered by Poor Law Authorities in respect of single persons.

2. That it is necessary to define closely the term "unemployable" and to be assured, before such allowances are guaranteed, that it is impossible, by properly applied training, to make the beneficiary a wage-earner.

3. So to regulate allowances as to constitute no inducement to persons of different sexes pooling public moneys in order that undesirable alliances may be contracted.

And finally, to see to it that such allowances do not reach a level equal to the average economic earnings of the fully equipped worker employed in the area providing the money for relief purposes;

and to placement work for the blind:

1. All efforts to ameliorate the condition of the blind who are otherwise physically fit are best directed so as to secure permanent, remunerative, and congenial employment for them.

2. That the special workshops for the blind have an abiding place in the corporate life of the body politic, and inasmuch as they do provide training and employment for a number of people who need special care and attention, their function is a humanitarian one. It would appear desirable, however, that greater attention should be concentrated upon the pursuit of other than the regular occupations now practised in order to reduce trade losses, increase the margin of available opportunity, and encourage enterprise and initiative among those for whom such special establishments exist.

3. That those charged with the responsibility of managing the special workshops should come together, pool their experience, and work for the promotion of central buying and selling agencies, and thus avoid a form of competition that cannot fail to be inimical to all concerned.

4. Availing ourselves of the knowledge and experience gained both in Britain and abroad, in the matter of selecting occupations at which suitable blind persons may be employed, we should look firstly to the pursuit of those facilities which may be said to have a real economic value, and only regard special workshop employment as one of a number of alternatives.

5. In order to promote this object, consultative Committees should be established upon which persons of knowledge and experience in the blind world should serve, together with representative employers, in order so to direct the business of research and investigation as to produce practical results;

have interest for American students. His closing words might be addressed to some of those who have determined recent enactments on the subject in Illinois:

The spirit of self-reliance should be more sedulously cultivated by those who are responsible for the education and training of the blind; for the development of an attitude of independence is the very mainspring of all our future happiness. The ingenuity of statesmen cannot give to us the priceless heritage we will have lost if we fail to appreciate all that is thereby involved.

S. P. B.

Some Folks Won't Work. By CLINCH CALKINS. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1930. Pp. 202. $1.50.

Under a somewhat journalistic title which seems to subordinate serious purpose to the demands of modern advertising, this book proves to be a sharp commentary upon the all-too-prevalent complacency concerning unemployment. The author gives the experience of the settlements with unemployment among their neighbors. These are not the cases of persons who are unable or unwilling to work, nor of those temporarily out of work because of seasonal or

cyclical fluctuations. They are not casuals. Many of them have been skilled workmen, ingenious in turning from one occupation to another when the factory closed down or the machine displaced men.

These people are not easy recipients of charity. They have saved. They have begun to buy homes, encouraged by our national emphasis upon home-ownership as the most secure form of thrift. They have struggled to keep the home together and the children in school. The wife has gone out to work available to cheaper female labor, and the husband has tramped the streets hunting a job. We see the slow, almost inevitable approach of family disorganization: friction between husband and wife; the children disobedient, restless, and finally delinquent. We see some families struggling to maintain their standards to the last, the husband refusing recourse to bootlegging. We see the results in malnutrition, sickness, and death. When the father does resort to bootlegging, we see the loss of the family's self-respect. One case where the ironical punishment was ten years at hard labor in the federal penitentiary shows our unscientific methods of meeting both unemployment and resulting delinquency.

The book is written not in statistical or case-record style but in narrative form. The style is simple, with no striving for effect, letting the bald facts speak for themselves. The story of the carpenter whose importunity caused the contractor to make work for him and who on the second day carefully put away his tools to lie down and die is like a Greek tragedy.

Today when unemployment has assumed the proportions of a national disaster and when many minds are turned toward the human results of business depression, this word from the settlements should be welcomed. It stresses the fact that unemployment is a major problem with us at all times. It seeks to arouse us to concerted and continuing rather than spasmodic effort to control forces making for unemployment. It strives to replace our easy confidence in the magic of high wages and free competition by realization of stern reality in the lives of many valuable citizens. The settlements with their hands on the pulse of their neighbors have made a valuable contribution to our thinking on unemployment through this presentation of their experiences ably expressed and timely in appearance.

M. R. C.

Women Workers and the Bryn Mawr Summer School. By HILDA WORTHINGTON SMITH. New York: published jointly by the Affiliated Summer Schools for Women Workers in Industry and the American Society for Adult Education, 1929. Pp. 346. $1.50.

In June, 1921, the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers in Industry opened for its first session. Its object was "to offer young women of character and ability a fuller education," in order that they might "widen their influence in the industrial world, help in the coming social reconstruction, and increase the happiness and usefulness of their own lives." The School was not to

be "committed to any dogma or theory," but set out to "conduct its teaching in a broad spirit of impartial inquiry with absolute freedom of discussion and academic freedom of teaching." To the fulfilling of this purpose we were gathered together this first summer some twenty or more instructors and tutors, many of them members of the faculties or graduate schools of leading American Colleges and universities; and eighty-two students, women workers in industry, most of them of slight previous education; half of them union members and half non-union; of all shades of political opinion and every variety of religious belief; from all quarters of the United States, of multifarious racial backgrounds, foreign-born and American-born. "My impression on the campus," wrote one girl, "was as though I was taking a trip all over the United States and Europe."

Here was material for a somewhat lively experiment in organization, in methods of teaching, and in democratic living. How to reconcile abysmal differences in background, equipment, and point of view, both on the campus and in the classroom; how best to teach students with "mature minds and wide practical experience," yet "lacking in many fundamentals of elementary education"; what subjects, in the two months' time allowed, could be most profitably taught —these were some of the problems to be contended with. The manner of their solution this first summer, and their evolution over a period of some eight years, is the subject of *Women Workers and the Bryn Mawr Summer School*. In addition, the author outlines the original organization of the School, by a group representing Bryn Mawr College, women workers in industry, and the Bryn Mawr Alumnae Association; discusses methods of recruiting and selecting students; and further describes the relation of the School to organized labor, to workers' education in general, and to the development of other summer schools.

Miss Smith has told her story simply and well. Her account of fact is straightforward; her interpretation of the spirit animating this many-sided venture is sympathetic and understanding. One slight misimpression, given in the early pages of the book, is corrected in subsequent pages. From the tone of the first chapter, it is difficult not to draw the conclusion that the idea of summer education for women workers originated solely at Bryn Mawr College. That the writer does not intend to give this impression is shown by a later statement that such an idea had been for some time in the minds of women industrial leaders, and a reference to their expression of it in a resolution passed at the convention of the National Women's Trade Union League in 1915 (not 1916, as stated).

A generous number of appendixes containing outlines of courses, an address by President Thomas, plans of organization, reprints of circulars, statistics of faculty and students, etc., adds to the interest of the book, and to its value as a work of reference. The latter would be increased by the addition of an index.

The book is written as a companion volume to *The Effect of the Bryn Mawr Summer School as Measured in the Activities of Its Students*, by Helen Hill, to be obtained through the American Society for Adult Education.

AMY WALKER FIELD

CHICAGO

Lucy Stone. Pioneer of Woman's Rights. By ALICE STONE BLACKWELL. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1930. Pp. viii+313. $3.00.

It must have been a great satisfaction to the daughter to complete this record of the work of her noble parents. The vote was won for women ten years ago—almost thirty years after the death of Lucy Stone and more than a decade after that of her husband and devoted co-worker for the cause of justice. These periods, while not long, are long enough to blur some of the memories of those struggles and of the social injustices that made them necessary. The Lucy Stone League keeps alive the memory of a time when the wife's determination to retain her own name cost dearly, and when money losses of serious amounts were suffered rather than submit to "taxation without representation." Of course, it was not so much the woman who suffered from her exclusion or her limitations, except as a social being; it was the community, it was the men, the children, the women in their corporate relationships. An illustration of the loss is found in the early practice at Oberlin College, which admitted women students but would not let them read their commencement addresses. Lucy Stone had an exquisite speaking voice; but, if she had consented to write a graduating paper, it would have been monotonously read by the university official who read all the compositions of the women students! This account seems to relate to a very long-ago and far-away period. Oberlin was the place where human rights were cherished and protected. Neither the black skin nor the petticoat was to be a barrier between the human mind and its opportunity for development.

It is a great pity that the day of the speaking record had not arrived, for Lucy Stone's voice was very beautiful; and no tribute can adequately portray the gentle, gracious courtesy characteristic of both Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell. No sacrifice was too great for them to make in support of a principle; no human suffering was too humble for them; no situation too ignoble for their enlightened service. Students of the movement for the rights of women, for the rights of the Negro, for the recognition of human claims to opportunity, are grateful for this record of two pioneers prepared by a daughter whose life has registered the same courage, the same dignity, and the same sympathy with all those who are oppressed.

S. P. B.

Susan B. Anthony: The Woman Who Changed the Mind of a Nation. By RHETA CHILDE DORR. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1928. Pp. xiii+367. $5.00.

The author says in her Foreword that there is not much new material for a life of Susan B. Anthony. *The History of Woman Suffrage* compiled by a group of the early American leaders and Mrs. Harper's biography of Miss Anthony have most of the facts about her life and work. Nor has Mrs. Dorr given us an

essentially new interpretation of her character and guiding motives. Rather she has attempted to put into a single readable volume that which before could only be had by reading tomes, and to place Miss Anthony in the society of her contemporaries rather better than the books written during her lifetime were able to do.

The book she has written is not a great biography; it belongs to journalism rather than literature; its interpretations are not entirely free from the very obvious commitments of the author. But for all that it is a book worth writing and well worth reading. It calls forth anew, as any sympathetic study of their lives must, respect and admiration for that little band of pioneers who worked, in season and out of season, to secure for women the chance to participate in the work of the world and to make women something more than the ornaments and playthings to which the eighteenth century tradition bound them. And of them all, the most indomitable fighter, the most tireless worker, the clearest and most far-sighted was Susan B. Anthony. Some of this gets into Mrs. Dorr's book, enough probably to send some readers to the older and more massive volumes where more of Miss Anthony has been recorded.

HELEN R. WRIGHT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Soviet Union Looks Ahead: The Five-Year Plan for Construction. New York: Horace Liveright, 1929. Pp. xii+275. $2.50.

This book is the English version of the official report on the now famous and ambitious economic and social program of the Russian Soviet government. It is an interesting document. It sets forth aims, plans, and hopes, rather than achievements, although the latter are supposed to furnish the basis and justification of the former.

In five years—in four, rather, for the program is about a year old now—Soviet Russia confidently expects to convert backward Russia into an industrial state, and a very advanced industrial state at that. The capitalist nations are to be surpassed and beaten at their own game, but by means more humane and civilized than those resorted to by the wicked bourgeois governments.

Socialism or communism is to be thoroughly vindicated. Wages are to be raised, standards of living improved, education made general, production stimulated, and trade at home and with foreign countries developed to a remarkable degree. The process of socialization is to be extended to agriculture; the farms are to be brought into the communist régime through co-operation or collectivism.

How is all this to be accomplished? The plan covers electric power development, reorganization of the coal industry, metals and machinery, transport, etc. The total capital required is estimated at 86 billion rubles. Half the national income will be absorbed by the program at the end of the fifth year. The budget is to remain the chief financial weapon of the government, but loans

will be necessary. About 5,000 engineers and other experts will have to be found and put to work. A skilled labor force will have to be organized. Machinery in enormous quantities will be imported and paid for by increased exports.

The Soviet government does not minimize the obstacles to be overcome. In fact, it points out not a few of them with remarkable candor. It is determined, however, to win at any cost. It says, in effect, that opposition purely selfish will not be tolerated. The good of the nation is paramount. "If the general development program may justifiably be called a plan of great works," we read in the volume under notice, "the social program is a plan of a fully developed social offensive on the entire front." The industrialization of Russia in accordance with science and modern technique is acknowledged to be the only solid foundation for the growth of the socialist elements of the Soviet régime. Failure, therefore, is not to be thought of.

Of course, Russia's potential resources are, vast as are her potential demands for goods and services. It remains to be seen whether a communist dictatorship is equal to the gigantic job tackled in the five-year program. Western radicals and liberals may shake their heads in grave doubts, but they should wish Russia a large measure of genuine success. Socialism deserves a chance and a fair trial. Rival systems would be stimulated and energized by healthy competition, provided the firing squads, the spies, and the prisons are not too freely resorted to in order to force socialization, increase production, or promote discipline.

Meantime Russia issues bread cards and struggles with want, inefficiency, indolence, bureaucracy, and widespread discontent. German peasants are not the only element that would gladly shake the dust of Russia off their boots and make a fresh start under some sort of freedom, political and economic.

VICTOR S. YARROS

CHICAGO

Citizenship in an Enlarging World. By SIR ROBERT FALCONER. Sackville, Canada: Mount Allison University, 1928. Pp. 85. $1.25.

This little volume comprises three lectures delivered on a foundation by the president of the University of Toronto. The views expressed are distinctly conservative, since no one not orthodox in religion and politics can deliver these annual lectures. But there is none the less much fine thought in them, considerable candor in meeting contemporary problems, and emphasis upon freedom of teaching in universities, devotion to high ideals, simple living, and noble thinking. The obligations of institutions of the higher learning to society and humanity are set forth in earnest terms. Sir Robert believes in individual liberty under wise and conscientious law, in popular participation in government, in self-discipline, and in rational obedience to genuine moral authority. The pessimism, cynicism, and revolt of contemporary youth he regards as symptoms of post-

war moral and social diseases. The cure for them, he is certain, will be found in a return to the old loyalties and essential human virtues—sympathy, mutualism, love of justice and of charity.

V. S. Y.

War, Politics, and Reconstruction. By H. C. WARMOTH. New York: Macmillan Co., 1930. Pp. xiii+285. $3.50.

Henry Clay Warmoth, born in Illinois, became Governor of Louisiana at the age of twenty-six. From 1868 to 1872, during some of the stormiest reconstruction scenes enacted in any southern state, he served as chief executive. At the age of eighty-eight he publishes this volume drawing upon his diary, public and private correspondence with various public officials, newspaper files, and some public documents. In New Orleans, where he still resides, he is rather ambiguously known by the older generation as the "carpet-bagger" who saved white Louisiana from Negro domination after the Civil War.

Whether or not the volume adds much material of historical significance, it does record the activities of a rather striking political personality; and his motivation in a crucial and dramatic period during which he gathered unto himself great power and was the chief protagonist in an exciting scene is of interest to the political scientist. Most of all what the book reveals is the stupidity and futility of war and the waste and corruption that follow in a completely disorganized territory such as Louisiana was from 1862 to 1877. Moreover, it is easy to understand why the educational and charitable institutions of the state suffered so greatly during this period. Although Warmoth does not consider it a matter of sufficient importance to mention in his book, it is to his credit that he vigorously opposed the leasing of the state penitentiary to private parties during his administration which led to such great abuse down to the year 1901.

ELIZABETH WISNER

TULANE UNIVERSITY

Contemporary Sociological Theories. By PITIRIM SOROKIN. New York: Harper & Bros., 1928. Pp. xxiii+785. $4.00.

This book undertakes a presentation and criticism of the sociological theories of the last sixty or seventy years. The author has found it expedient to classify these theories into the following categories: (i) "Mechanistic School"; (ii) Synthetic and Geographic School of LePlay"; (iii) "Geographical School"; (iv) "Biological School"; (v) "Bio-social School"; (vi) "Bio-psychological School"; (vii) "Sociologistic School"; (viii) "Psychological School"; (ix) "Psycho-sociologistic School," and a number of subcategories. Through this classification he avoids the biographical as well as the historical forms of presentation with their

consequent advantages and disadvantages. Many of the authors treated would object to the classification of their theories as given in this book; others would have to look for their theories under a number of headings. Much of what Professor Sorokin has included would be omitted by others who have a different conception of sociology. On the other hand, much that he has omitted would be added by others. A disproportionately large amount of space has been devoted to biological factors, and there is a great deal of needless repetition.

Sociology, according to the author, is a study of "first, the relationship and correlations between various classes of social phenomena; second, that between the social and the non-social phenomena; third, the study of the general characteristics common to all classes of social phenomena" (pp. 760–61). He closes: "Sociology has been, is, and either will be a science of the general characteristics of all classes of social phenomena, with the relationships and correlations between them; or there will be no sociology" (p. 761). In this view Professor Sorokin is in substantial agreement with the majority of American sociologists of a generation ago. Many contemporary sociologists, however, are inclined to think that considerable progress had been made when sociology abdicated its self-appointed position of *generalissimo* of the social sciences and assumed a humble rank of private in the company of the other social sciences. To them Professor Sorokin's position will appear as a step backward.

Professor Sorokin points out in the Introduction, in explaining the reasons for writing this volume, that "for a sociologist who is devoted to a special sociological problem, it is extremely difficult to have an adequate knowledge of the whole field of the science. Being absorbed in his special study, he does not have time to go through the hundreds of various sources where information about the theories is given." In the course of the book the author refers to the works of over 1,150 different writers, among them more than seventy times to himself.

It is regrettable that Professor Sorokin has allowed his personal bias, which is evident in many places, to depreciate the value of his book. The hope may also be expressed that in subsequent editions, which this book will no doubt undergo, some of the most conspicuous instances of extreme dogmatism will disappear.

LOUIS WIRTH

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

BRIEF NOTICES

Those in the Dark Silence. The Deaf-Blind in North America. A Record of Today. By CORINNE ROCHELEAU and REBECCA MACK. Washington, D.C.: Volta Bureau, 1930. Pp. 169. $2.00.

There are probably 2,000 persons in the United States who are both blind and deaf. This includes, to be sure, many aged who have lost their sight and hearing; but it also includes many, perhaps between 700 and 800, young, for whose education provision

should be made. They are among the most neglected and difficult to care for. Schools for the blind usually refuse to take them, and they are often placed in institutions for the feeble-minded. There is great need of after-care. The authors suggest the establishment of "a national institution exclusively devoted to the general welfare of the blind-deaf; a sort of clearing-house for help and advice to all those so handicapped. . . . . They need to be kept abreast of what is being done in their interests, of the new books to read, of the new handicrafts put within their reach; they need to prevent the disintegration that comes from rust; and most of all they need to be delivered from the all-devouring dragon of loneliness."

The book also recommends that a member of each state commission for the blind or some other official have the special duty of looking after the deaf-blind of the state, with the responsibility of keeping in touch with the facilities for education and training that the state affords. It is strongly urged that this state representative should visit the deaf-blind regularly. Even though a deaf-blind person is well cared for at home, there is a need for wider social contacts, particularly "understanding" contacts. The state representative should be able to offer a specialized friendship, as well as to give practical aid.

Lip Reading for the Deafened Child. A Handbook for Teachers. By AGNES STOWELL, ESTELLE E. SAMUELSON, ANN LEHMAN. New York: Macmillan Co., 1928. Pp. viii+186. $1.25.

This little volume is noted here because the schools for the deaf are often under the public welfare authorities rather than under the department of education; and welfare inspectors as well as other social workers would do well to keep themselves informed regarding the facilities available for so dealing with the deaf as to reduce the degree of his separation from the social group to which he normally belongs. Attention has been called in these pages to the old controversy between the advocates of the lip-reading and the sign method of communication. Such textbooks as these bring home the realization of the practicability of the oral method.

Marriage and Morals. By BERTRAND RUSSELL. New York: Horace Liveright, 1929. Pp. 320. $3.00.

Basing his viewpoint on a historical analysis of the institution of the family, Bertrand Russell sets forth his arguments for new moral standards with reference to marriage and sex relations. He sees the disappearance of traditional marriage with an enlarged participation of the state in the care of the child. There will be a new direction of the sex impulse, based upon rational control rather than upon ancient taboos. Considerable difficulty will be experienced in the transitional period by adults influenced by the traditions, conventions, and superstitions of sex. The jealousy of marriage partners based upon the desire for complete possession, Russell believes should and will be eliminated as a motive in sex relations. Like many other statements of liberal viewpoints in matters of sex, the discussion seems concerned with an abstract type of homo sapiens rather than with the varieties of contemporary human beings. This type individual appears to be an English upper-class liberal in his sentiments and desires, and for him the book may offer guidance toward rational sex conduct.

Sex in Civilization. Edited by V. F. CALVERTON and S. D. SCHMALHAUSEN, with an Introduction by HAVELOCK ELLIS. New York: Macaulay Co., 1929. Pp. 699. $5.00.

The limitations of presenting for general consumption a symposium of ideas covering a phase of social science are strikingly illustrated in the miscellany of articles herein collected. Its value lies largely in the fact that it may serve as source material of the prevailing prejudices and viewpoints of contemporaries who have gained some recognition as authorities on one or another aspect of the sex problem. Thirty-one individuals have contributed, in addition to Havelock Ellis, who writes the Introduction. There are some excellent articles, such as that by Robert Briffault on "Sex in Religion," and by Mary Ware Dennett on "Sex Enlightenment for Civilized Youth." On the other hand, the book also contains some strikingly unenlightened articles as well as superficial statements of mediocre quality, which substantially outnumber the intelligent and scientific contributions. Reading the symposium in its entirety demands more patience than is possessed by the ordinary searcher after contemporary notions about sex.

The Evolution of Modern Marriage. By F. MÜLLER-LYER. Translated by ISABELLA C. WIGGLESWORTH. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930. Pp. 244. $4.00.

Although Dr. F. Müller-Lyer published his work originally in 1913, it is now for the first time available in English translation. The book is important as a historical document offering a basis for many of the contemporary attitudes toward the problem of sex. It is an interpretation of marriage made possible by the accumulation of anthropological data, the recording of primitive custom and modern folkways. Together with those of Westermarck, Frazier, and others, studies of this type have established an interest in the social aspects of the family and have directed attention to the relativity of contemporary ethical and moral standards. The modern student will perhaps decide that Dr. Müller-Lyer has overemphasized the importance of the economic factor in the changing of sex relationships and sex mores.

A LETTER TO THE EDITORS

[EDITORIAL NOTE.—The Editors are glad to publish the following communication which has been received from Mr. Ayusawa of the International Labour Office at Geneva. The Editors, however, wish to call attention to the fact that the errors to which Mr. Ayusawa refers are statements made in the book which was reviewed and are not properly chargeable to our reviewer. While Mr. Ayusawa makes the statement that our reviewer says certain things which he wishes to correct, the Editors have been careful to re-read the book which was reviewed, together with the review of the book and Mr. Ayusawa's comment. They feel that Mr. Ayusawa has written a second review or criticism of the book rather than a criticism of the first review. Our reviewer makes no statements about conditions in Japan on her own responsibility. All her statements

are directly verifiable in the book. However, since Mr. Ayusawa feels that the book is erroneous in its statements we are very glad indeed to publish his criticism.]

INDUSTRIALISM IN JAPAN

The Editors:

My attention has been called only recently to a few errors in a book review in the *Social Service Review* of June, 1930, page 325, on *Industrialism in Japan*, by W. F. France. Apparently the reviewer of the book has not followed the recent progress of labor legislation in Japan and merely reproduced the misstatements contained in the book. For example, there is a passage which says: "Even a twelve hour law is poorly enforced because of exceptions and eighteen hours is not unknown." This is not accurate because the fact is that the so-called "twelve-hour law," by which is meant no doubt the old Factory Act of 1911, was amended in 1923 to "eleven hours" and has been in operation since July 1, 1926. One must not overlook, moreover, the fact that these hours include the compulsory rest of at least an hour, so that the legal maximum is ten hours. The book in question was published in 1928 and fails to mention the important legislative changes made within the three or four years previous to its publication. This is only one instance of several similar misstatements in the book. As for the statement that "eighteen hours is not unknown," it certainly does not apply to present-day Japan, and no one will take it seriously.

Again another passage runs: "Eighty per cent. of the child workers are girls and the law to raise the minimum age to fourteen is not yet in force." This is not true. The minimum age law setting fourteen years as the minimum age of admission to industrial employment and applying to industry has been in force ever since July 1, 1926. The exception is that a child above twelve years of age who has already completed the course of compulsory elementary school may be admitted to gainful occupation in industry. When the book appeared, the law had been in force for two years; and when it was reviewed, already nearly four years.

Another passage begins by saying, "The task of alleviation and reform is so overwhelming that the *government department of social science* says. . . . ." Unfortunately Japan is not advanced far enough to have a "department of social science" in her government, but there is a Bureau of Social Affairs (Shakai Kyoku) which is almost as important as a labor ministry. It is unfortunate that the commendable missionary zeal of the author is not coupled with a little more accuracy.

Faithfully yours,

IWAO F. AYUSAWA

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

Juvenile Division of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia. A Report by the Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia of a Study Made by It as Agent of the Thomas Skelton Harrison Foundation. Report prepared by JOEL D. HUNTER, assisted by ANNABEL M. STEWART. ("Philadelphia Municipal Court Survey Series.") Philadelphia: Thomas Skelton Harrison Foundation, 1930. Pp. xxiv+163. Free.

This is the sixth in a series of studies of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia undertaken in 1924 at the request of Judge Raymond MacNeille, then president judge of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia. Judge MacNeille called into conference representatives of the Bureau of Municipal Research to discuss certain studies of the Court which he wished to have made as a basis for improvement in the work of the Court. After some negotiations the Bureau undertook the study, with the understanding that all reports based on the investigation should be published simultaneously. The study was undertaken; but before it was completed, Judge MacNeille was transferred to the Common Pleas Court. With his removal, the co-operation of the Municipal Court ended, so that it was no longer possible to obtain the necessary information; and the prospects of completing the survey became so remote that it was decided to pubish those portions already completed. It should be said that the Bureau of Municipal Research had secured the co-operation of the Thomas Skelton Harrison Foundation, which agreed to finance a comprehensive survey of the Court and which has published the series of which, as has been said, this is the sixth. The inquiry was undertaken under the general advice and counsel of a committee composed of Dr. Kate Holladay Claghorn, Mr. Arthur Dunham, Mr. Joel D. Hunter, Mr. Fred R. Johnson, Miss Emma O. Lundberg, Mr. C. G. Shenton, Mrs. Annabel M. Stewart, Miss Ruth Topping, Dr. Ralph P. Truitt, Mr. William Watson, and Mr. G. E. Worthington. Dr. Neva R. Deardorff acted as consultant on studies dealing with the social work of the Court.

It was understood that the results of the investigation would be made known to the Court in advance of the final reports, and interim reports were made on a number of subjects. The first of the series, an interpresentation of the *History and Functions of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia*, prepared by Clarence G. Shenton, assistant director of the Bureau of Municipal Research and director of the Thomas Skelton Harrison Foundation, gives an extremely interesting account of the circumstances leading to the establishment of the Court in 1912, a

description of its organization, an account of its civil and criminal jurisdiction, and discusses at some length the jurisdiction over juveniles, in the field of family relations, especially in matters of desertion and nonsupport, and over misdemeanants, especially those dealt with in what might be called the "morals" division of the Court. It is shown that in the brief period of its existence the court had grown to great proportions, and it was felt that the time had come to take account of stock.

The person under whose direction the study of the juvenile division was made was Mr. Joel D. Hunter, superintendent of the United Charities of Chicago and for a number of years chief probation officer of the Cook County Juvenile Court. Mr. Hunter was assisted by Mrs. Annabel M. Stewart, a member of the staff of the New York City Welfare Council Bureau of Research, of which Dr. Neva R. Deardorff is the head.

It is not necessary to summarize the material in the report—a copy can be obtained by applying to the Thomas Skelton Harrison Foundation. The recommendations are, however, of real interest and may be briefly summarized. It is recommended that the probation staff be selected after the method introduced in 1913 in Cook County by Judge Merritt W. Pinckney, namely, what might be called a voluntary civil service. Under this plan, committees of citizens whose public spirit is beyond question are appointed to conduct examinations and supply to the court lists of eligible candidates from which the appointments are made. It is recommended that, when the merit system of selection has been introduced, there should be a higher salary scale for some of the positions. Cordial and co-operative relationships between the Court and the private and other public social agencies are urged. The use of the confidential exchange is one example to which reference is especially made. Certain changes in practice, especially the abolition of a preliminary court hearing and the substitution of an adequate social investigation, are urged. These investigations should cover such points as the economic standing of the parents and relatives and should be based in part on interviews with the relatives, the teachers, and employers of the child as well as with representatives of social agencies who have known the family; and the medical and psychiatric diagnoses should be available. There are suggestions with reference to the hearings, to the records and their use, to the use made of medical recommendations, to the relation of the Court to adults whose offenses affect the wards of the Court, to the need of better defining the field of juvenile work, and especially to the relations that should exist between the probation officer and the child under his care.

The report gains greatly in interest from the comments made upon its suggestions by the president judge of the Court and the replies to these comments by Mr. Hunter. As has been said, the volumes can be obtained gratuitously by applying to the Foundation, 904 Social Service Building, 311 South Juniper Street, Philadelphia.

Social and Economic Character of Unemployment in Philadelphia, April, 1929. By J. FREDERICK DEWHURST and ERNEST A. TUPPER. (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics Bulletin No. 520.) Washington, D.C., 1930. Pp. vi+51. $0.15.

This study was made by the Industrial Research Department of the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania as part of its program for extensive research into unemployment problems. The Wharton School, in its conduct cooperated with the bureau of compulsory education, which had had wide experience in giving vocational advice and had high-grade attendance officers, skilled in taking the school census. The month of April, which was selected for the survey, represented, so far as could be ascertained, "normal" conditions of employment for the period 1925–29. It had the further advantage of inviting comparison with the federal census of unemployment of April, 1930, and a study made by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company for Philadelphia in the spring of 1915.

The survey covered 166 widely distributed school census blocks, chosen to give a representative sample of the racial, occupational, and economic composition of the city, as indicated by the census of 1920 and subsequent available data or estimates. Usable schedules were obtained from over 31,000 families. The method of study and type of questions were somewhat restricted by the fact that the inquiry was conducted by the compulsory school attendance department. This limitation was probably more than offset, however, by the caliber of the investigators, their uniform experience which aided in uniform interpretation of questions, and their cordial relationships with the families interviewed

The findings are highly significant. They indicate an average unemployment of 10 per cent during "normal" employment conditions, lower unemployment among native whites than among foreign-born or colored workers, and a higher rate of unemployment in the lower income groups and among large families. The information concerning reasons for unemployment and time lost since the last regular job is significant.

The study is valuable not only for the concrete factual material presented but even more for the method of investigation employed.

M. R. C.

Memorandum on Family Allowances. Presented by the Family Endowment Society to the Royal Commission on the Civil Service, January, 1930. Appendix IV to Minutes of Evidence. London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1930. Pp. 24. 1*s.*

Report of the Royal Commission on Child Endowment or Family Allowances. The Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1929. Presented by Command; ordered to be printed, March 18, 1929, No. 20, F. 24. Canberra: Government Printer, 1929. Pp. 125. 5*s.* 4*d.*

The first and briefer of these two reports is perhaps more interesting because it is more recent. The Family Endowment Society submitted evidence to the

Royal Commission on the Civil Service as a means of persuading the British Civil Service to "examine for itself the question of family allowances, thoroughly and without prejudice, on its own merits."

The terms of reference of the Royal Commission on the Civil Service included "conditions of service, with particular reference to the general standard of remuneration of Civil Servants and the existing differentiation between the rates and scales of remuneration between men and women Civil Servants." The Family Endowment Society thought it impossible to consider the terms of reference without regard to family allowance proposals.

The Society points out that two contentions advanced in opposition to family allowances seem to contradict each other: the first, that the cost of a family allowance scheme would be so great that it would seriously affect the unmarried man's salary; the second, that the percentage of civil servants responsible for families of, or above, the average number (whatever interpretation may be given to "average") is so small that they do not need special consideration by a family allowance scheme.

Most objections to family allowances, they say, have their real origin in the fear that the system would result, sooner or later, in a considerable drop in the unmarried man's salary; that it involves "paying for other people's children"; that it curtails the amount that can be saved toward marriage.

However, the Society lists eight different objections, to each of which they briefly reply. Their final statement may well be quoted:

> In conclusion, family allowances are proposed as a necessary corollary of "equal pay." As regards "general standards" the system is recommended, not only as a part-solution of the difficulties of married Civil Servants on the lowest grades of salary and of the ex-Servicemen, but as a practical improvement on the present method of providing for the family unit in general. Under the present method the opportunities of the family for a fuller life are not infrequently curtailed, both in the lower grades and in the higher where educational expenses are relatively heavy. Family allowances are designed to lighten the burden of parenthood for the average man at the moment when that burden presses most heavily; and it is urged that "the popularity of a Service is determined not by a few fortunate ones but by the contentment of the average man." The proposal should thus have its appeal for all those who have at heart the interests of the Service as a whole.
>
> We would venture to add that it should also have an appeal for all who believe that the Service of the State should be a model for other forms of service, and should set a standard, not visionary nor impracticably high, but capable of application to workers unable to think out or defend their own interests.
>
> We recognise that family allowances would involve a big change, that there would be difficulties to be solved and risks to be run. Are they valuable enough to be worth facing the difficulties and taking the risks?

The second of the two reports under consideration grew out of the Australian experience, which may be briefly summarized as follows: New Zealand in 1926 had enacted a "family allowance" law, which provided allowances of two shillings a week for any child under fifteen years of age provided there were two or more children in the family already and provided the average family income

was not more than £4 in addition to the allowance. In March, 1927, New South Wales, where proposals had been under consideration for a number of years, finally adopted a family endowment scheme providing allowances of five shillings a week for each dependent child under fourteen years of age, this fund to be provided from a tax of 3 per cent of the wages bill to be levied on employers. The plan has also been in operation in certain public services of the Commonwealth. These plans have been developed at the same time at which there exist (1) the Commonwealth Court of Conciliation and Arbitration, with power to fix basic wages in certain industries, (2) an arbitration tribunal in New South Wales, (3) a court of industrial arbitration in Queensland, (4) an industrial court in South Australia, (5) a court of arbitration in Western Australia, and (6) wage boards in Victoria and Tasmania. It was felt, however, that the wages fixed by these various authorities were unequal and often inadequate for the support of children in large families.

A royal commission was appointed in September, 1929, to inquire into and report upon the general question of the institution of a system of child allowance or family endowment, with special reference to its social and economic effects. If the Commission recommended the creation of such a system, other subjects enumerated in the Commission were to be likewise considered. The report, which is very interesting, is really in the form of two reports, one rejecting the proposal, the other recommending the creation of a service which would provide allowances for families of specified low income in which there were dependent children and no male bread-winner, the allowances to be a pound a week for the mother and ten shillings a week for each child and for other specified low-income family groups. The minority report also recommended the development of important social services.

The majority of the Commission rejected the proposals only after an elaborate discussion, which included a presentation of the constitutional aspects of the question, a review of the economic and industrial situation, an account of the existing systems of family allowance, a discussion of the relation between child endowment and wage fixation, the part played by wife and child endowment in the fixing of basic wages and taxation schemes, and an elaborate exposition of the essential child endowment proposal including its effect on the birth-rate, the question of eugenic control, possible methods of establishment, administrative arrangements and cost. Perhaps the question on which the Commission lays greatest stress is the extent to which an inadequate wage scale is a source of child distress. The majority thought that many other factors of greater importance entered into the problem and that, while the cost of such a plan would be so great as to have disastrous effects, the results would be so slight that the tasks involved in the relief of child distress would remain substantially the same. The report is an extremely interesting document, partly as an illustration of the kind of discussion of national policy and national finance evoked when a program for the relief of child distress becomes an item in a program of practical politics.

Report on the Welfare of the Blind in Various Countries Based on Replies Furnished to a Questionnaire Sent Out by the Health Section of the League (Series of League of Nations Publications III. Health 1929. III. 8; Official No. C. H. 818). Geneva, 1929. Pp. 284.

Eighth Report of the Advisory Committee on the Welfare of the Blind to the Minister of Health, 1928–29 (Great Britain Ministry of Health). London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1930. Pp. 34. 6*d*.

Report on the Unemployable Blind (Great Britain Ministry of Health, Advisory Committee on the Welfare of the Blind). London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1929. Pp. 15. 2*d*.

Proceedings of the 1929 Annual Conference of the National Society for the Prevention of Blindness, St. Louis, Missouri, November 11–13, 1929. New York: National Society for the Prevention of Blindness, 1930. Pp. v+201. $1.00.

The World of the Blind: A Psychological Study. By PIERRE VILLEY, translated by ALYS HALLARD. New York: Macmillan Co., 1930. Pp. 403. $2.25.

Stand Concessions as Operated by the Blind in the United States and Canada. By LELA T. BROWN (American Foundation for the Blind, "Vocational Research Series," No. 3). New York: American Foundation for the Blind, 1930. Pp. 72. $0.50.

The literature with reference to the physically handicapped groups is rapidly increasing. The problems of those groups and the concern of the community for them must be approached from a number of points of view.

In the case of the blind, there are, first, the possibility of preventive measures as in the compulsory care of the eyes of newborn infants; the provision for education, with its special, costly type and consequently limited literature; for employment; protection from industrial accident; the care of the unemployable, making their lives less empty and drab; and, always, the question of support and physical care.

In the League of Nations inquiry all these points were covered by a questionnaire framed by the representative of the British government on the Health Committee and sent in 1927 to 57 countries. When, in September, 1929, this report was drawn up, replies had been received from 26 countries. The questionnaire covered a wide range, and the replies nationally varied greatly in scope and comprehensiveness. There is a great amount of interesting information which should prove stimulating to those concerned for the better care of the blind.

The report of the League and the report of the Advisory Committee on the Welfare of the Blind to the British Ministry of Health illustrate what an enormous advantage it is to have a central authority through which comprehensive information can be obtained and valuable suggestions passed on.

The report of the Committee on the Unemployable Blind contains very in-

teresting suggestions with reference to the principles on which support should be given the blind, that is, not under the arrangements of the poor law, not after the principle of bare relief of destitution, and yet with full regard to other resources of the blind beneficiary, so that with his allowance his total income may not exceed reasonable needs and not disregard either the claims of the taxpayer, or the multiplicity of causes to which the benevolent must contribute. The proposals of the committee, here for example, contemplate that adult blind persons may have their incomes made up to 25 shillings a week ($6.25) if they live alone in an urban community or to 22/6 ($5.65) if they live with relatives in a city, with lower incomes if they are in less populous and less costly areas. The reports lay great stress on home teaching, sometimes reducing the number of the unemployable and often enriching the life of the handicapped person. These reports make very interesting and suggestive reading.

The 1929 Annual Conference devoted its deliberations to "Co-operative Relationships in the Field of Prevention of Blindness," to "Conserving Vision in Industry," to "Social Hygiene in relation to the Prevention of Blindness," to "Vision Justice for the Young Child."

Professor Villey's study of the psychology of the blind was awarded a prize of 5,000 francs by the French Academy of Moral Science. It is a most delightful and stimulating analysis and discussion of the true intelligence of the blind. Professor Villey thinks that the chief barriers to the professional activity of the blind is to be found in the prejudices and ignorance with which the public regard them. The truth only he says can serve their cause; and he sets out their mental state as he has learned to know it from his own experience, from his contacts with other blind persons, and from the writings of the blind. Two chapters are beyond the subject of the psychology of the blind, since the writer discusses the blind person's conception of space and compares it with that of the seeing person. The material is organized in five parts and seventeen chapters. The titles of the parts are: I, "The Intelligence of the Blind"; II, "The Substitution of Lenses and the Activity of the Blind"; III, "The Substitution of Images and the Furniture of the Mind"; IV, "Indications with Regard to the Affective Life"; V, "The Psychology of the Blind in Society."

The little essay on *Stand Concessions* contains six brief chapters, setting out the possibility of extending the occupational opportunity of the blind by securing stand concessions. The material was obtained by interviews with about fifty blind operators and correspondence with placement agents in the United States and Canada. It is organized into seven chapters: "Stand Operation," "Factors of Success," "Securing the Concession," "Street Stands," "Stands in Buildings," "Merchandising and Profits," and "Placement and Supervision." In the Appendix are given two forms of the agreement used by the Canadian National Institute for the Blind with stand concession operators.

Report of the Departmental Committee on the Relief of the Casual Poor (Great Britain Ministry of Health; Cmd. 3640). London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1930. Pp. 99. 1*s.* 6*d.*

Poor Law: Report of a Special Inquiry into Various Forms of Test Work. (Great Britain; Cmd. 3585). London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1930. Pp. 44. 9*d.*

These two reports are of interest to those who follow the course of English poor law changes. The first report deals with the unfortunate group of those known in this country as "hoboes," "tramps," or perhaps "down-and-outs." In the new act which went into operation in England this year a "casual poor person" is defined in the following terms: "any destitute wayfarer or wanderer applying for or receiving (poor) relief; it is the fact of his entering, or asking to enter, a casual ward which makes him a casual. The homeless poor who do not apply for relief may be described as 'wayfarers,' the persons who accept relief in casual wards as a regular and permanent means of existence as 'vagrants.' "

The first report listed above is not therefore directly concerned with the question of the homeless poor. The Committee on the "Casual Poor" was appointed to consider only one section of the homeless poor, those relieved in casual wards; wayfarers, wanderers, and other homeless persons who manage to avoid patronizing the "casual wards" are not considered.

It cannot be said that the departmental committee have discovered anything that is very new regarding the casual wards and their inmates; nor have they anything very new to offer in the way of remedies. The report is, however, valuable as a comprehensive statement of an old problem that unhappily is still with us.

One interesting feature of the report is the publication of a graph showing the number of persons in casual wards, on a specified night, for each month in recent years in comparison with earlier periods. Two pre-war years, 1909–10 and 1913–14, were selected as fairly representative of the pre-war period; and the year 1919 was selected as showing the situation at the close of the war period. The numbers for each of the twelve months in these years are shown in comparison with the monthly counts for the years 1928, 1929, and 1930.

The most striking fact that appears in studying this graph is the almost total disappearance of the "casual" during the war. The Committee do not agree with those who assume that the demand for labor during the war years is a sufficient explanation of his disappearance and the closing of many of the casual wards. They think that "the Military Service Acts introduced a new element of compulsion into the social system, and any able-bodied man who could not show himself to be already engaged in work of national importance could not, even if he would, continue to be a vagrant."

Another significant fact in the graph is that the line representing the figures for the year 1909–10, which was not a period of serious industrial depression,

is on the whole higher on the chart than the graphs for the three years from 1927 to 1930. On this point the Committee comment as follows:

> The introduction since 1909–10 of various forms of national and compulsory insurance of the wage-earning classes against sickness and unemployment, and the special measures taken in the Ministry of Labour for industrial transference from derelict mining areas must have been important factors in keeping in their homes persons who otherwise would have set out in search of employment. Whilst as a general rule it must be true that long periods of industrial depression swell the number of casuals, no direct relation can be traced between the Ministry of Labour weekly statistics of persons unemployed and the corresponding numbers of casuals relieved.

Dr. E. O. Lewis, who was the author of the special report on mental deficiency[1] issued last year, was loaned to the Ministry of Health by the Board of Control to undertake a special survey of abnormal mental conditions and related causes of social inefficiency among the population of the casual wards. The conclusions of Dr. Lewis regarding the presence of mental deficiency among the casuals are of some interest. He examined 592 casuals, and of these he came to the conclusion that 93, or 15.7 per cent, were feeble-minded; 32, or 5.4 per cent, were insane; and 34, or 5.7 per cent, were in a psychoneurotic condition. The entire report by Dr. Lewis is published as Appendix III.

The admirable summary of the history of vagrancy which was prepared for and published by the old Departmental Committee on Vagrancy in 1904 is conveniently reprinted also as an appendix to the present report. Another appendix that will be found useful deals with the London system of providing for casuals, particularly, of course, with the work of the Metropolitan Asylums Board and the Metropolitan Homeless Poor Committee.

The report on "Test Work" is merely a summary of the material obtained by the general inspectors of the Ministry of Health as a result of an investigation into the various forms of test work in force in different parts of the country. Mr. Greenwood, the Minister of Health under the present Labour government, explains in a prefatory note that he thinks

> the publication of the information which has been obtained may be of value to the new authorities who are now charged with the duty of administering the Poor Law. Under the Relief Regulation Order, which was issued on the 28th March last, those authorities are required to formulate such arrangements as may be practicable in the circumstances of their areas for setting to work, or training and instructing able-bodied men who are afforded outdoor relief.

With regard to schemes of work or training, Mr. Greenwood emphasises the importance of bearing in mind that "a primary objective of the local authorities should be to maintain the employability of those able and willing to work, so that when opportunity offers men have no difficulty in resuming their places in industry."

The Minister makes the further statement that this consideration makes it

[1] See this *Review*, III, 619.

necessary for local authorities "to give special attention to the question of training and to avoid as far as possible tasks which appear to be purposeless." Mr. Greenwood regards stone-breaking, which was criticised severely by some of the members of the "Casual Poor" Committee, as an example of the kind of work to be avoided; and, while he thinks that quarrying may in certain circumstances properly be adopted as part of a scheme of work, he thinks that "the mere breaking of stones" should not form part of the ordinary work provided by local authorities.

Detailed criticisms of the various forms of test work provided in different parts of the country will be found in Section IV of the report, which also includes a discussion of educational schemes and various other aspects of work provided by the different local authorities. A final recommendation is as follows:

A Board of Guardians should have at its disposition, for judicious application to different types of men, or for successive use, a variety of methods of relief. A complete scheme for a Union in which there is any considerable amount of unemployment might be:

(i) Out-relief on loan without test for a limited period:
(ii) Out-relief combined with a scheme of education or training for younger men:
(iii) Co-operative schemes of work, not on a wage basis, for a limited period, with other Local Authorities:
(iv) A full-time work test under strict discipline and supervision, at the Institution or elsewhere:
(v) Modified workhouse test (which should rarely be employed):
(vi) Institutional relief for the whole family.

Statistical Abstract of the United Kingdom, 1913–1928, Seventy-third Number (Great Britain Board of Trade; Cmd. 3465). London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1930. Pp. xv+387. 6*s*. 6*d*.

The increase in the scope of the public social services for which the British parliament or central government is in some measure responsible makes a national statistical abstract a most valuable source of information for the social worker. The present volume, which is the seventy-third number issued in the statistical abstract series, contains valuable data on numerous subjects of interest to the social worker, such as, health insurance, old age pensions, poor law relief, industrial accidents and workmen's compensation, "notified insane," control of intoxicating liquors, and unemployment and unemployment insurance. While it is impossible for us to review the statistics in each of these fields, a brief summary of those in the first field is given as typical:

In the British health insurance scheme, the statistical returns for 1928 show a total insured membership of 10,907,700 men and 5,499,900 women, or a total of 16,407,600 wage-earners out or a total wage-earning population of approximately 20,000,000. Of course the question on which statistics throw no light is what happens to the non-insured population. This is a question, however, that

must be faced by social workers. The fact is that a social insurance scheme affords no help to the non-insured and very little help to the dependents of the insured population. This is the difference between the insurance principle and the principle of universal provision out of taxes on which, for example, our American educational system is founded.

However, no one will question the beneficial results accruing from the insurance system as far as it goes, and these benefits are so great that a review of them is interesting. In 1928, for example, the following health insurance benefits were distributed:

In cash as benefits to sick members (so-called "sickness benefit") £11,327,000, or approximately $55,163,000.

In cash to members whose illness continued beyond the period of thirty weeks (so-called "disablement benefit") £6,133,000, or approximately $29,868,000.

In cash to insured women or wives of insured men at the time of confinement (so-called "maternity benefit") £1,754,000, or $8,542,000.

In provision for medical services there was an expenditure of £10,093,000, or $49,153,000, for so-called "medical benefit, "which may be called "free doctoring" for insured persons who are ill except when they have a non-insurable illness, such as pregnancy.

In provision for miscellaneous benefits offered by some of the approved societies, e.g., nursing service, the cost was £3,018,000, or $14,690,000.

In round numbers, therefore, the abstract shows cash benefits to the amount of £19,214,000 or $93,572,000, to which may be added fees paid out to doctors in behalf of insured payments and certain other payments for social services £13,111,000, or $63,851,000.

Certainly, this is an impressive record of national expenditures, none of which was provided two decades ago except in the form of poor relief.

The cost of administration is reported to have been £5,271,000 for the year 1928, of which approximately five-sixths went to the approved insurance societies and insurance committees and approximately one-sixth to the central department.

The total recorded expenditures therefore are £37,596,000, or $183,093,000.

On the other side of the ledger the returns show receipts during the year of £25,843,000 from the deductions from wages of the beneficiaries and from their employers, £7,138,000 out of taxes through parliamentary votes and grants, and £5,853,000 interest on insurance funds. A final item of interest is that accumulated insurance funds represent £126,406,000.

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